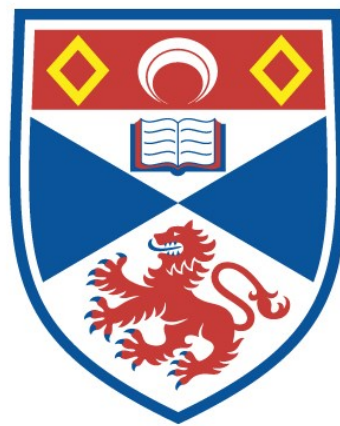


THE FULFILMENT OF FILIAL PIETY : THE
DEVELOPMENT OF KOREAN PROTESTANTISM AND
THE SHAPE OF A THEOLOGY OF FILIAL PIETY

Eun Chul Kim

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of PhD
at the
University of St Andrews



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University of St Andrews

The Fulfilment of Filial Piety:
the Development of Korean Protestantism and
the Shape of a Theology of Filial Piety

A Thesis
Submitted to the Faculty of Divinity
For the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Eun Chul Kim
St Andrews, Scotland, United Kingdom
27 April 2001



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ABSTRACT

The Fulfilment of Filial Piety: the Development of Korean Protestantism and the Shape of a Theology of Filial Piety

This thesis attempts to bring an amalgam of cultural, biblical, missiological and theological approaches to the theme of filial piety, to illuminate the development of Korean Protestantism and to shape a theology of filial piety. The work is divided into six chapters. Chapter One searches for the central theme in the Confucian Classics. The question of what is the central theme is an on-going debate among Confucian scholars. A lengthy discussion shows that filial piety is the central theme. Chapter Two argues that filial piety in early Korean literature was in continuity with the filial piety of the Confucian Classics and was used as a discontinuity with Buddhism. Chapter Three investigates how ancestor worship weakened in Korean culture and how Christian and biblical narratives deal with ancestor worship. This controversial issue is discussed in terms of the Confucian Classics and early Korean literature, and sociological, Christian and biblical perspectives. Chapter Four attempts to show that filial piety towards Yahweh in the Old Testament is in continuity with filial piety in the Confucian Classics and early Korean literature. It is argued why and how filial piety towards Yahweh the Father is emphasised within six books, Exodus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea and Malachi. Chapter Five examines the filial piety of Jesus in the Four Gospels as an aspect of *imitatio Christi*. For this examination two questions are asked: (i) to what extent does the filial respect of Jesus towards his human parents relate to the filial piety of Jesus towards the Father? (ii) To what extent does the filial piety of Jesus towards the Father affect his disciples in their filial piety towards the Father? Chapter Six shapes a theology of filial piety as a consequence of chapters two to five and a contribution to a new Korean theology. In shaping this new theology as an authentic local theology a proper model is necessary. The models of two scholars (Robert J. Schreiter and Stephen B. Bevans) are examined to create a better model, which consists of two criteria (cultural relevance and biblical faithfulness). These criteria are used for the shape of a new local theology. Based upon these criteria, a basic outline of a theology of filial piety is established. This theological formation connects cultural relevance as discussed in chapters one and two, and biblical faithfulness as in chapters four, five and some portions of chapter six.

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ABBREVIATIONS

(i) Primary Texts

Ex	Exodus
Deut	Deuteronomy
Isa	Isaiah
Jer	Jeremiah
Hos	Hosea
Mal	Malachi
Mt	Matthew
Mk	Mark
Lk	Luke
Jn	John
BH	The Book of History
Ode	The Book of Odes
Ana	The Analects of Confucius
GL	The Great Learning
DM	The Doctrine of the Mean
Men	The Book of Mencius
BFP	The Book of Filial Piety

(ii) Journals and Dictionaries

<i>ABD</i>	Anchor Bible Dictionary
<i>AJT</i>	Asian Journal of Theology
<i>BT</i>	The Bible Translator
<i>CBQ</i>	Catholic Biblical Quarterly
<i>CF</i>	Ching Feng
<i>CTJ</i>	Calvin Theological Journal
<i>ER</i>	Ecumenical Review
<i>ET</i>	The Expository Times
<i>IJT</i>	Indian Journal of Theology
<i>IRM</i>	International Review of Missions
<i>ISBE</i>	International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia
<i>JAAR</i>	Journal of the American Academy of Religion
<i>JBL</i>	Journal of Biblical Literature
<i>JES</i>	Journal of Ecumenical Studies
<i>KJ</i>	Korea Journal
<i>Miss</i>	Missiology: An International Review
<i>Missio</i>	Missionalia
<i>NIDOTE</i>	New International Dictionary of the Old Testament and Exegesis
<i>PEW</i>	Philosophy East and West
<i>RS</i>	Religious Studies
<i>SEAJT</i>	South East Asia Journal of Theology
<i>SJT</i>	Scottish Journal of Theology
<i>TDNT</i>	Theological Dictionary of the New Testament
<i>TDOT</i>	Theological Dictionary of the Old Testament
<i>TLNT</i>	Theological Lexicon of the New Testament
<i>VT</i>	Vetus Testamentum
<i>VTW</i>	Voices from the Third World

INTRODUCTION

One of the most remarkable religious phenomena of the twentieth century has been the development of Korean Protestantism. The Commission on Carrying the Gospel to All the Non-Christian World reported to the World Missionary Conference, held at Edinburgh in 1910, that the expansion of Christian missions in Korea was "one of the marvels in modern history".¹ In the journal of *International Review of Missions*, G. Herber Jones stated that "Korea has been called the surprise of modern missions."² Indeed, the Edinburgh Conference in 1910 which began with the report of the amazing story of Protestant missions in Korea signifies the importance and influence of Korean missions for world evangelisation. That the first edition of the *International Review of Missions* in 1912 opened by reviewing the marvellous growth of the Korean church similarly indicates its impact on other missionary endeavours. More recently, Harvie M. Conn acknowledged the continued expansion of Protestantism in Korea and praised its continuity with Korean culture and the successful contextualisation of the Gospel with that culture.³ James H. Grayson concluded, after a lengthy discussion of a religious history of Korea, that Protestant churches in the final decade of the twentieth century have been the seminal feature of modern Korea.⁴ These two missionaries to Korea have observed the remarkable development of Korean missions, viewed from the inside.

It is now estimated that twenty-five percent of the Korean population are Protestant Christians (33% of the population including Catholics) after about one hundred years of Christian activity, while only about two percent of the rest of the Asian population is Christian after more than two hundred years of Christian activity.⁵ Korea boasts over thirty of the largest churches and several of the largest seminaries in

¹ World Missionary Conference, *Report of Commission I* vol. 1 (Edinburgh: Oliphant, Anderson & Ferrier, 1910), 71.

² G. Herber Jones, "The Growth of the Church in the Mission Field", *IRM* 1 (1912), 422.

³ Cf. Harvie M. Conn, "Conversion and Culture: A Theological Perspective", John R. W. Stott and Robert Coote (eds.), *Down to Earth: Studies in Christianity and Culture* (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1980), 151-170.

⁴ James H. Grayson, *Korea: A Religious History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989), 206, 271.

⁵ Daniel J. Adams, "Church Growth in Korea: A Paradigm Shift from Ecclesiology to Nationalism", Mark R. Mullins and Richard Fox Young (eds.), *Perspectives in Christianity in Korea and Japan* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 13; Andrew E. Kim, "A History of Christianity in Korea: From Its Troubled beginning to Its Contemporary Success", *KJ* 35:2 (1995), 34, 48.

the world. The denominations include Presbyterian, Methodist, Pentecostal, Baptist, Holiness, Lutheran, Anglican, Salvation Army and other Christian traditions. Churches and missionary institutions in Korea are mostly independent of foreign missionaries' influence and are very actively involved in the daily lives of Koreans, justifying their role as the leading religious force.

Moreover, in the context of the rapid growth of Pentecostal and evangelical Christianity in Korea, churches and missionary organisations have sent about ten thousand missionaries throughout the world.⁶ Many young ministerial or mission-oriented aspirations, mass-produced by some two hundred and seventy theological schools which produce an astonishing ten thousand graduates annually, have been based on church or church-related missionary agencies at home. Accordingly, many of the missionary or ministerial candidates have been involved with or followed the mission abroad.⁷ The leading missionary agency in the Third World, Korean churches believe that they are paying the debt of love back in terms of missionary works.

How did this happen in Korea? We can assume that when the Gospel was preached, the people of that culture must have responded to it positively and thus resulting in the good relationship between the Gospel and culture. If this is correct, the encounter between the Gospel and Korean culture must be the most important factor which has made this happening possible. In this regard, we must ask a question: if Korea is a Confucian society and filial piety is the most important and popular moral practice, was Confucian filial piety a main factor in the remarkable development of Protestant missions in Korea? If so, how did the former contribute to the latter?

It is generally acknowledged that in Protestant missions to Korea, the prevailing theological trend has been to set the Christian faith against Korean culture and religion. The underlying theological formula assumed is that of *transformation* ("Christ against culture").⁸ This theological view, held by both foreign and local ministers in the early

⁶ Chai-suk Chung, *Korea: The Encounter between the Gospel and Culture* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1997), 36. As he expected, the number of Korean missionaries sent throughout the world is around ten thousand.

⁷ Ibid., 36-37.

⁸ This theological formula was initiated by H. Richard Niebuhr (*Christ and Culture* [New York: Harper & Brothers], 1951), who categorised five types of interaction between the Gospel and culture. (1) The first type (*Christ against culture*) is described as the general attitude of the early churches, and has found eloquent expressions in Tertullian and Tolstoy. This view upholds culture to be renounced and hated. (2) The second type (*Christ of culture*) represents the accommodation of Christ to culture. This type has

stage of Korean Christianity, played a major role in successful missionary enterprise and the expansion of its church. L. George Paik dealt with what happened in the course of the introduction and the expansion of Protestant Christianity in Korea from the beginning to 1910. He described dynamic activities of Protestant missions and the rapid expansion of the Korea church in terms of the transformation view.⁹ Everett N. Hunt Jr. stated in his book that Henry Appenzeller and Horace Underwood were fundamentalists and conversionists. They can be understood in terms of the church militant metaphor. As missionaries they felt called to do battle against the forces of evil, darkness, superstition and the heathen.¹⁰ Samuel H. Moffet viewed the Gospel as an explosive force in order to transform the Korean people and as a spiritual power directly from the Bible to light up the darkness.¹¹ The above three writers advocate their notions on other religious culture in terms of "Christ against culture".

produced a "culture-Protestantism" which has been characterised by a desire to bring Christ and culture progressively together. This view attempts the fulfilment of his cultural aspirations and the purification of his social institution. (3) The third type (*Christ above culture*) seeks to include them in a comprehensive synthesis. It attempts to affirm both the supernatural and natural, faith and reason, grace and free will, and to find out the solution of our problem in a right ordering of human loyalties. (4) The fourth type (*Christ and culture in paradox*) requires that a man should be subordinate to God and culture, with the full awareness that loyalty to the latter involves him in sin against God. According to this view, there is no escape from sin and a man must live not by his righteousness but by the continual forgiveness of God. (5) The fifth type (*Christ the transformer of culture*) deals with the power of God, the gospel and faith as the transformer of culture. This view represents the conviction that not only individuals but also the whole human culture can be redeemed. Since God is Creator and Christ is King, culture must be the realm of divine activity.

However, Niebuhr's five categories, though excellent, are overlapping. Of course he could be well aware that none of the types which he distinguishes are to be found in its pure form and that the actual views which they project shade into one another. *First*, types (1) and (5) are continuous in their process: missionaries of type (1) who oppose any existing culture at all would attempt to achieve individual transformation, which is a part of the type (5). In type (5) there are two kinds of transformations: individual and cultural. Type (1) and the aspect of individual transformation in type (5), which Niebuhr himself categorises into type (1), are one category after all. Moreover, these two transformations (individual and cultural) are inevitably linked in process. Thus types (1) and (5) can be one category in a complete sense. *Secondly*, types (2) and (3) are similar in terms of cultural accommodation with Christ: the former seeks the accommodation of good cultural elements with Christ, while the latter also seeks cultural accommodation with the superior position of Christ. In fact, they both aim at the fulfilment of culture with Christ. Out of this analysis, we can find out that the combined types (1) and (5) are similar to our *transformation* view, and the combined types (2) and (3) are similar to the *fulfilment* view. We shall discuss these two views further.

⁹ L. George Paik, *The History of Protestant Missions in Korea 1832-1910* (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1987), 4.

¹⁰ Everett N. Hunt Jr., *Protestant Pioneers in Korea* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1980), 84-93.

¹¹ Samuel H. Moffet, "Protestantism: Its Influence on Modernisation in Korea", Kyu-tae Yi (ed.), *Modern Transformation of Korea* (Seoul: Sejong Publishing Co., 1970), 104-109.

This view emphasises discontinuity between the Gospel and indigenous culture.¹² In other words, because many instances of demonic influences can be seen in other religions, they are seen as opposed to Christ.¹³ In fact, the major part of the history of Christianity is dominated by this approach. In order to defend the authenticity of the Christian faith and to preserve its purity, the fathers of the church tended to adopt a negative attitude towards other religions.¹⁴ Tertullian's view on other religions can be summarised in this rhetorical question, *Quid Athenae Hierosolymis?* ("What has Athens to do with Jerusalem?").¹⁵ Tertullian's rejection of culture is that sin resides in culture and original sin is transmitted through society.¹⁶ The climax of this aspect is reached with Tolstoy's rejection of culture. His notion is that every phase of culture falls under indictment. For him, state, philosophy, sciences and arts are the citadels of evil.¹⁷

The Protestant Reformation acknowledged the radical sovereignty of God. Luther in particular took this up seriously with the notion of the antithesis between God and man. Luther believed that the only link between the two was from God to humanity: God would freely offer grace upon fallen humanity, so that the ground of his salvation is moral transformation.¹⁸ The notion of *sola scriptura* in the Reformation can be summed up as an uncompromising attitude towards other means of salvation. The good news of justification by faith is to be found solely in Scripture. This notion, applied to mission policy, inferred that other people's religious traditions were unimportant.¹⁹

Probably the most radical exponent of this view in modern times has been Karl Barth. In Barth's view other religions are futile attempts to know God. By nature they are sinful and are doomed to failure. His provocative term "religion as unbelief"

¹² H. Richard Niebuhr, 40; cf. 45-82.

¹³ J. A. Rooy, "Christ and the Religions: the Issues at Stake", *Missio* 13:1 (1985), 4.

¹⁴ Ravi Santosh Kamath, "Inculturation and Inreligionisation?", *ER* 39 (1987), 177.

¹⁵ It was quoted by J. A. Rooy, 4.

¹⁶ H. Richard Niebuhr, 40.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, 60.

¹⁸ Kwesi A. Dickson, *Uncompleted Mission: Christianity and Exclusivism* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1991), 79-80.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 81-82.

influenced the concept of Protestantism concerning other religions. Barth's assessment of other religions, in contrast to that of a liberal Protestantism led by Friedrich Schleiermacher and Ernst Troeltsch who advocated the positive aspects of other religions, would seem entirely negative. Barth says that "Religion is never true in itself. The revelation of God denies that any religion is true" (CD I/2:325). He even condemns other religions as manifestations of man's sinful rebellion against God and idolatry.

Hendrick Kraemer, like most continental Protestants, laid an immense stress upon the teaching of Paul, and especially on Romans, to criticise the validity of other religions. His famous book *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* was written for the Tambaram Conference (1938),²⁰ which was conceived as a response to the *Rethinking of Missions* of William E. Hocking,²¹ that is, a document which in the fashion of liberal theology criticised traditional missionary conquest and the destruction of other religions, urging an attitude of co-operation.²² Kraemer insisted that Christian revelation is *sui generis*, so there is only "difference and antithesis" between the Gospel and other religions. He affirmed, on the basis of what he called "Biblical Realism", that Christ does not simply perfect what has been there before, but brings radical judgement and discontinuity.²³ A Christian should make his firm stand on the Christian revelation which places itself above any efforts of men to apprehend the totality of existence. When Christianity as a total religious system approaches non-Christian religions, there is no point of contact, and there is no possibility of co-operation on any religious basis. The dominant themes of the book are the "absoluteness", "finality" and "otherness" of the Gospel.²⁴ His work stood as a powerful statement of Christian exclusivism formulated in terms of Protestant Neo-orthodoxy, and dominated mainline Protestantism for at least two decades.²⁵

²⁰ Hendrick Kraemer, *The Christian Message in a Non-Christian World* (London: The Edinburgh House Press, 1938), v.

²¹ Hendrick Kraemer, 306-07.

²² William E. Hocking, *Rethinking Missions: A Laymen's Inquiry after One Hundred Years* (New York and London (Harper & Brothers Publishers, 1932), 3-27, 29-48.

²³ Hendrick Kraemer, 415-16.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 113, 115-120, 300.

²⁵ David Bosch, "The Church in Dialogue: From Self-Delusion to Vulnerability", *Miss* 16:2 (1988), 134.

This view would confront other religions and culture with the challenge of a personal decision of a possible transformation from old to new religion.²⁶ Matthew's gospel illustrates this view in the parable of the leaven. No-one denies that the leaven in the parable is used in a good sense to indicate a transforming power.²⁷ It implies that the kingdom of God permeates and transforms the audience, possibly with particular reference to the religious culture of first century Judaism.²⁸ Both the nature and the goal of the kingdom preached by Jesus are described in such a way that every audience can understand it well. In fact, throughout the Matthean narrative we can find that Jesus' ministry is characterised by the motif of transformation.²⁹ Christ transforms them into what He wants them to be.

After the disintegration of the mediaeval *Corpus Christianum*, whose vintage phrase *extra ecclesiam nulla salus* was applied to the Roman church in particular, Protestant churches in Europe (Southwest and Northwest in particular) and North

²⁶ H. Richard Niebuhr, 40.

²⁷ G. E. P. Cox, *St. Matthew: Introduction and Commentary* (London: SCM, 1952), 94; Floyd V. Filson, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St. Matthew* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1971), 162; Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 268; Joachim Jeremias, *The Parable of Jesus*, trans. S. H. Hooke (New York: Charles Scriber's Sons, 1965), 149; Henry Barclay Swete, *The Parables of the Kingdom* (London: MacMillan, 1920), 42; G. R. H. Shafto, *The Stories of the Kingdom: A Study of Parable of Jesus* (London: SCM, 1923), 51.

²⁸ C. H. Dodd, *The Parable of the Kingdom* (London: Nisbet and Co., 1953), 155.

²⁹ There are four main themes in Matthew that indicate the transforming view. *First*, the theme of repentance is viewed as a transforming power demanding the audience be converted, which is a summary of Jesus' preaching (Mt 4:17; 11:21; 12:41; 18:3), whose ministry reflects the prophetic tradition that summoned Israel to repentance (cf. 3:2). Matthew identifies repentance with the goal of Jesus' ministry (11:20-24). *Secondly*, the theme of children or little ones is intended to urge the audience to be transformed to meet the condition of the entrance to the kingdom of heaven. The transforming motif is described in three aspects: conversion is needed, "Unless you change and become like little children, you will never enter into the kingdom of heaven (18:3); humility is recommended, "Whoever humbles himself as this little child is the greatest in the kingdom of heaven" (18:4); acceptance is followed, accepting a child in his name is accepting Jesus (18:5). *Thirdly*, the kingdom of heaven in Matthew is described as destroying and opposing the kingdom of Satan (12:26; cf. 4:3; 6:13; 13:19). Matthew depicts from the outset the confrontation between Jesus and the devil before the beginning of Jesus' ministry and Jesus' victory over the devil (4:1-11). Exorcisms were also carried out by Jesus (4:24; 8:23; 17:14-23) and by his disciples (10:1, 8). *Fourthly*, the imperative "make disciples" implies both the call to discipleship and the process of becoming a disciple. Jesus committed his earthly ministry to making disciples within Judaism and Graeco-Roman culture, and he commissioned his disciples to make disciples among the nations (28:16-20). Jesus encountered many people with a call to discipleship. The response to this call involves obedience to his summons and transformation of one's life, casting away the old life and finding new life in the kingdom of God (12:46-50). Jesus continues to call the people to make disciples through those who are already disciples because he emphatically commanded them so to do (Mt 28:16-20).

America set out to achieve world evangelisation through their expansion. The work of missionaries, which was supported by western colonialism, contributed to the rapid expansion of the Gospel into Asia and tried to conquer non-Christian religions. In particular, missionaries in Asia, like Robert Morrison in China, Robert de Nobili in India and Hendrick Kraemer in Indonesia, were prepared for the work of conversion, because they adopted a negative attitude towards other religions.³⁰ The majority of American missionaries, following the European theology of missions, provided the soil on which “dissenting denominations” could grow. In particular, the seed sown in Korean soil was a kind of fundamentalism born of “Puritan zeal” and “Wesleyan fervour”.³¹ Protestant missions in Korea proposed a strong emphasis on evangelical theology and a Christian life of piety and commitment. They were very evangelistic and concerned with personal soul winning.³² Almost all the missionaries perceived Korean culture as heathen which was incompatible with Christian faith. They tried to transform Korean culture into Christian culture.

However, we must re-examine the other theological trend, the *fulfilment* view (“Christ of culture”), which the majority of missionaries and ministers in Korea did not consider for the sake of missionary enterprise. With this theological view goes a perception that can help us break one aspect of the relationship between the Gospel and culture (*transformation* view), and broaden our perspectives in looking at culture. This theological view suggests that other religions are “a preparation for the Gospel” (*praeparatio evangelica*) and the Gospel “fulfils” them.³³ Its origin can be traced in the church fathers. Particularly, Justin’s *spermatikos logos* is well-known for an attempt to describe the continuity between the Gospel and culture. Justin explains it by saying that

³⁰ Theological works written on this subject of non-Christian religions during the last century and the mid-half of this century have taken a negative attitude, denying the legitimacy of non-Christian religions. This view at times is known as dialectical theology, or the theology of discontinuity. Cf. Emani Sambayya, “The Christian Message and Non-Christian Religions”, *IJT* 7:1 (1958), 13-14. Paul Knitter (*No Other Name?: A Critical Survey on Christian Attitude Toward the World Religion* [London: SCM, 1985], 80-90) discussed four different models in which the “conservative evangelical model” advocates only fundamentalism and denies other religions. Alan Race (*Christians and Religious Pluralism: Patterns in the Christian Theology of Religions* [London: SCM, 1983]) wrote of three patterns: exclusivism, inclusivism and pluralism. Exclusivism is non-negotiable to other religions.

³¹ Spencer J. Palmer, *Korea and Christianity* (Seoul: Hollym Corporation, 1979), 26.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Lesslie Newbigin, “The Basis, Purpose and Manner of Inter-Faith Dialogue”, Richard W. Rousseau (ed.), *Interreligious Dialogue* (Scranton; PA: Ridge Row Press, 1981), 18.

in each man there is a seed of the *Logos* and that this results from the action of the Word which gives the seed (II *Apol* 8.3; 13.8). Therefore, everyone who has borne witness to the good and the ideal by the *logos* can be regarded as “pre-Christians”. Even a pagan can be considered as such (I *Apol* 46.1-4). However, Justin makes a distinction between pagans and self-conscious Christians, in that the former had only a partial knowledge of the truth, that is, they partook *logos*; while the latter received Christ himself (II *Apol* 10.8; 8.4-6). He seems to suggest that the *logos* leads to the *Logos* and the *Logos* fulfils the *logos*.

Another case of the *praeparatio evangelica* is seen in the way in which the apologetic tradition of the early church explains the presence of the truths in paganism and the relationship of those truths to Christian revelation. Particularly, Eusebius of Caesarea paralleled the Old Testament of the Jews with truths known to pagan philosophy and religions, arguing that both of these preparations for Christianity belong to the old covenant.³⁴ For him the Old Testament has no value of its own until the promise of the coming of Christ is fulfilled in the New Testament. This agenda provided the possibility of theological discussion with culture, which was vital for the future of Christianity.³⁵

Aquinas introduced a similar concept to the fulfilment theology. Distinguishing two levels of knowledge, the level of *natura*, for which reason is sufficient, and of *gratia*, for which revelation is necessary, Aquinas held a very positive view of *natura*.³⁶ Philosophy and natural religion were, according to Aquinas, limited to the level of *natura*. Aquinas’s doctrine of nature and grace means that special revelation only has to fulfil a person’s natural knowledge of God and morality (*gratia non tollit sed perficit naturam*).³⁷ Since his main distinction was not between sin and grace, but between nature and grace, sin was not taken seriously in this construction of his theology. Natural religion is not the result of sin; it is not cancelled by grace, but perfected by it.

³⁴ Richard A. Muller, *Dictionary of Latin and Greek Theological Terms: Drawn principally from Protestant Scholastic Theology* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1985), 238.

³⁵ Jean Daniélou, *Gospel Message and Hellenistic Culture: A History of Early Christian Doctrine before the Council of Nicaea* vol. 2 (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1973), 39-40.

³⁶ J. A. Rooy, 8.

³⁷ J. Verkuy, *Contemporary Missiology: An Introduction* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1978), 343.

Roman Catholic scholars, perhaps under the influence of the early apologists and Aquinas, tend to evaluate non-Christian religions much more positively than conservative Protestants. Particularly since the Second Vatican Council the “fulfilment theology” has been dominant among Roman Catholics.³⁸

This “fulfilment” issue arose in the circle of Protestantism at the Edinburgh Conference of 1910. The conference recognised that the non-Christian religions could be regarded as a preparation for the Gospel, yet had to be corrected and fulfilled by the Gospel.³⁹ J. N. Farquhar, an Anglo-Saxon theologian, began a controversial debate on this issue at the conference by asserting that Christ fulfils the unfulfilled longings and aspirations of Hinduism.⁴⁰ Against this view Rudolf Otto defended: “The religion of India turns upon a different axis from the religion of the Bible, and the two cannot be regarded as ‘preparation’ or ‘fulfilment’, as in the case with the Prophets and Psalms in relation to the Gospel, but the passage from the one to the other religion involves a complete displacement of the axis, and not evolutionary and gradual transition.”⁴¹

Furthermore, at the Jerusalem Conference of 1928 the scope of the issue was widened. The enemy of the Christian missions was considered to be the spread of communism and secularism, and the main religions of the world were regarded as allies of the Christian faith in the battle against atheism and secularism. The conference referred to different elements in the major religions as “rays of the same light”. Against this pluralistic view a European theological position was expressed by Julius Richter. He looked at the sympathetic interpretation of spiritual values in other faiths, but asserted that the Christian missionary should offer divine salvation as the emissary of God.⁴² As a result of comparing the interpretation of the Christian message in the two international conferences of 1910 and 1928, D. S. Cairns emphasised the role of

³⁸ J. A. Rooy, 8.

³⁹ Lesslie Newbigin, 18.

⁴⁰ Cf. J. N. Farquhar, *The Crown of Hinduism* (London: Oxford University Press, 1915), 26-65, 457-458.

⁴¹ Rudolf Otto, *India's Religions of Grace and Christianity Compared and Contrasted*, F. H. Foster (trans.), (London: SCM, 1930), 65.

⁴² H. A. Mackintosh (“Christianity and Non-Christian Religions”, *IRM* 17 [1928], 688-90) evaluated the attitude of Julius Richter toward other religions. Cf. Julius Richter, *A History of Missions in India*, Sydney H. Moore (trans.), (Edinburgh and London: Oliphant Anderson & Ferrier, 1908).

Christianity in the preservation of Greek and Roman cultures, suggesting that it continued to have a similar role in relation to other cultures.⁴³

Thus the investigation of the religions and culture of Korea in terms of a *praeparatio evangelica* is necessary for our further discussion. We will make a historical survey of (1) the religio-cultural milieu, and (2) Confucianism in terms of Confucian scholarship and (3) the study of the classics.

1. The Religio-cultural Milieu: *Praeparatio Evangelica* (I)

In the long history of Korea,⁴⁴ Korean people had lived under the influence of three main religions. Shamanism, Buddhism and Confucianism had been taken as national faith or the state religion in each different stage and they had interacted with one another. This religious phenomenon offered a unique example in the Asian context in that a main religion emerged, dominated and transformed the structure of Korean society until another main religion took over. Furthermore, persecution of the preceding religion by the succeeding religion occurred. The interaction of these religions seem to have developed a fertile milieu preparing for the Gospel.⁴⁵

⁴³ D. S. Cairns, "The Christian Message: A Comparison of Thought in 1910 and 1928", *IRM* 18 (1929), 321-331.

⁴⁴ The history of Korea can be divided into six periods: (1) The primitive and tribal societies (2500 BC? - AD 57); (2) the Three Kingdoms of Koguryo, Paekche and Silla (57-660); (3) the Unified Silla Kingdom (660-936); (4) the Koryo dynasty (936-1392); (5) the Choson dynasty (1392-1910); and (6) the modern period (1910-present). The modern period is divided into two: Japanese colonial occupation (1910-1945) and *status quo* as the division of Korea into south and north (1945-present). Cf. Woo-keun Han, *The History of Korea* (Seoul: The Eul-Yoo Publishing Co., 1997), 511-14.

⁴⁵ Dongshik Yu (*The Christian Faith Encounters the Religions of Korea* [Seoul: Christian Literature Society, 1965], 13-93) perceives four main religions in Korea including Christianity as a "phenomenological discontinuity". He maintains that a religion predominated at each historical stage: Shamanism dominated during the primitive and tribal societies; Buddhism during the Three Kingdoms, the Unified Silla Kingdom and the Koryo dynasty; Confucianism during the Choson dynasty; and Christianity during the modern period. On the other hand, he looks at good aspects in other religions as a "spirituality continuity" with Christianity. Particularly, he regards Confucianism and Shamanism as important influences on Korean Christianity. Similarly, James H. Grayson in his book *Korea: A Religious History* (22-176) follows a similar pattern of religious traditions of Yu with a more careful examination of their historical developments and interactions. Yet Grayson seems to deal with the developments of other religions in terms of a "historical continuity", along with the concept of spirituality continuity with Christianity. He, like Yu before him, considers Confucianism and Shamanism as a fertile milieu where Christianity could develop dramatically and successfully. But he distinguishes Confucianism as closely related to early Christianity and Shamanism as such to modern Christianity in Korea (2-3).

1.1. Shamanism

Shamanism⁴⁶ was Korea's earliest religion which predominated in the primitive and ancient period before Buddhism and Confucianism were introduced. This religious tradition owed to its origins to developments in Siberia and Central Asia and in due course became indigenous in Korea.⁴⁷ Shamanism became a national faith when *Tangun*, the founder of Korea, who was regarded as a shaman, held the religio-political leadership of the country.⁴⁸ The kings after him ruled by divine right, and they could intercede with a supreme god (*hanullim*) for their people's well-being.⁴⁹ Korean Shamanism had three main characteristics. First, shamanists believed that spirits existed everywhere and controlled the people's destiny. If these spirits were properly treated or worshipped they would bring peace and blessings to them. They believed that there was a supreme god in heaven above all spirits. In this way all of the major rituals of the various groups were performed to a supreme god in the first place.⁵⁰ Secondly, the shaman's mediation in the rituals was regarded as an intervention between spirits and adherents. The shaman was the central figure of Shamanism in performing the rituals. This ritual consisted mainly of dancing, singing and performances in which many individuals participate. Thirdly, rituals are aimed mainly at invoking good fortune, supplication for the healing of an illness or disease, praying for a community's well-being, abundance and asking for success in business.⁵¹ This religious role of political leaders seems to have lasted for a few thousand years, and the people's religious view and life could be deeply involved with shamanistic outlook.

⁴⁶ James H. Grayson (22-26, 255-265) prefers the term Korean Folk Religion to Shamanism in the first place, although in the end of the book he uses the former as the latter or Musok-kyo. He has a justification for using the term Korean Folk Religion from the perspective of its historical development. But the term is vague and unidentifiable and could mean animism or anything else. In fact, from the beginning he seems to describe it as shamanistic religious tradition. Moreover, if he depicts it as one main religion, it definitely means Shamanism in the Korean situation. Besides, almost all Korean scholars define the ancient and primitive religion in Korea as Shamanism. Probably Korean Shamanism is a better term for it.

⁴⁷ James H. Grayson, 22.

⁴⁸ Dongshik Yu, 15, 20.

⁴⁹ James H. Grayson, 25.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, 23.

⁵¹ Woo-sung Sim, "Shamanist Temple in Seoul", *KJ* 34:3 (1994), 77.

In relation to Buddhism, Shamanism, which has a fluid tendency towards other religions, fused into the succeeding religion.⁵² When Buddhism as the main religion encountered with Shamanism in the Silla Kingdom, Shamanism remained and permeated the former, adopting the similarities of the latter.⁵³ As a result, Shamanism became outwardly invisible. The esoteric Buddhist concepts on the cure of disease, the use of magic and the appeal to spirits to protect the nation were in fact rooted in Korean Shamanism. During the Koryu dynasty, three types of local ceremonies were a continuation of shamanistic tradition: ceremonies offered to the spirits of mountains and rivers, non-Confucian ancestral rites and petitions for rain.⁵⁴ These practices could be conceived of by their advocates as a superior form of Shamanism.⁵⁵ But these transfused contents of shamanistic elements to Buddhism were often regarded as of Buddhism (Folk Buddhism).

1.2. Buddhism

Buddhism from China was established in Koguryu in 372, in Paekje in 384, and in Silla in 472. This religion provided the social and spiritual basis for each of the Three Kingdoms to develop into a state and became the religion of the aristocracy with the patronage of the government.⁵⁶ This official recognition of Buddhism brought a new dimension to the religious thought and practice of the Korean people. Particularly, the Silla Kingdom (668-918) accepted and practised Buddhism from the upper class to the common people. While the five Buddhist sects⁵⁷ mainly appealed to the aristocracy and

⁵² Dongshik Yu, 19.

⁵³ James H. Grayson, 81.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 254.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 60.

⁵⁶ Peter H. Lee, *Sourcebook of Korean Civilization* vol. 1 (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), 63; James H. Grayson, 31-33, 37-60.

⁵⁷ James H. Grayson, 74-79. *Nirvana Sutra*: all beings possess the Buddha nature and all may attain to the state of nirvana; *Avatamsaka Sutra*: all things are manifestations of one supreme mind, and thus all things can be seen as expressions of the Buddha [monadism]; *Dharmata*: salvation could come not only through *Avatamsaka Sutra* but also through other sutras properly understood; *Dharmalashana*: all phenomena are the creation of our consciousness, and thus illusory; and *Vinaya* explains the education of Buddhist doctrines and the practices of monastic life.

the government,⁵⁸ a new sect called *Pure Land Teaching* which taught that prayer to the Bodhisattvas would bring salvation appealed greatly to the people.⁵⁹ Later, Buddhism was made a state religion from the moment of founding the Koryo dynasty (936-1392). Buddhism became a catalytic force accelerating the growth of the state and of royal power.

The relationship between Buddhism and Confucianism had been good from their beginnings, up to the middle period of the Koryo dynasty. According to the *History of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk Sagi)* and the *Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (Samguk Yusa)*, during the Silla Kingdom, there was no confrontation between Buddhism and Confucianism. They seem to have recognised the necessities of their different roles for the country: the former existed as the state religion and the latter functioned as government policy. During the Koryo kingdom, while Buddhism remained the main religious force, Confucianism continued to increase in its influence upon the apparatus of government.⁶⁰ In the time of King Kwangjong (r. 949-75) the *Kwago* or the state examination was officially instituted in 958, and thus Confucianism began to spread among the upper class.

However, during the late Koryo dynasty, the Buddhist monks became corrupt through prosperity and involvement in politics.⁶¹ Buddhism was allied so intimately with royal authority, so that it reached its climax in the socio-political realm and controlled secular affairs. The tenets of the cults, such as chastity, abstinence and self-negation, were violated. The monasteries became great sores and tainted all society with a moral rottenness particularly in the late Koryo dynasty.⁶² As Buddhism had exchanged its religious field for a political one, so its reformation was primarily political.⁶³ The first king of the succeeding dynasty used Confucianism as the socio-

⁵⁸ Ibid., 74-79.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 55-56.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 115.

⁶¹ Ibid., 114.

⁶² Woo-keun Han, 182.

⁶³ Ibid., 183, 185-191.

political policy of the state in order to suppress or eliminate Buddhism and to build up an ideal Confucian society.

1.3. Confucianism⁶⁴

It is traditionally recognised that the Chinese Five Classics was introduced to Korea in 1122 BC.⁶⁵ This Five Classics became the main texts of Confucianism when Confucius (551-479 BC) had studied himself and taught the people around him.⁶⁶ It is said that Korea, after 550 BC, received the finished work of the Chinese Confucian Classics (hereafter referred to as the Confucian Classics or the classics).⁶⁷ However, it was during the early Three Kingdoms that Confucianism was officially accepted and practised.⁶⁸ From that time on until the late Choson dynasty (1880s) Koreans admired and studied them rigorously.⁶⁹ It developed to lay its influence upon the national education system and continued to increase in its influence upon the apparatus of

⁶⁴ The very question of whether Confucianism is a religion implies the ambiguity of its character. Viewing the historical context of a transitional period from the United Silla to the Choson dynasty, it featured more a socio-political phenomenon at the beginning and later developed to be a religious dimension in the climactic stage. As a whole, the Choson dynasty considered it as a socio-political government policies and as the state religion. The king and his ministers ruled the country by Confucian ideology and the king practised the worship of Confucius and ancestral rites, and the ministers and the people practised religious cults, i.e., ancestor worship. These two aspects were derived from the different interpretations of the Chinese Confucian Classics. First, it seems that Confucianism is a purely socio-political philosophy and has nothing to do with religion. It is quite convincing that the readers of the classics are impressed by the strong emphasis on human relationships, that is, the Five Relationships. Confucius was a socio-political reformer, with a strong sense of mission, seeking to bring order and justice in the seemingly chaotic society of his days. Confucius was not intended to be a religious teacher, and did not orient his teachings around the gods. Mencius, like Confucius before him, was primarily concerned with human welfare in this world, neither with an after-world nor with the welfare of gods. Secondly, Confucian literati, however, did not deny the existence of gods, spirits, or other supernatural powers. Confucius was a religious man, and his teachings are closely related to the religious life of his time. He recognised the existence of Heaven, and sometimes used in an anthropomorphic sense *Shang-ti*, the Lord Above, who watches and rules over human affairs and gives the Mandate of Heaven. Confucius personally participated in religious ceremonies, using liturgical vestments and an accompaniment of religious music. The teachings of Confucius and his followers never minimised the religious modality. It was the Confucian scholars who gave ancestor worship an important practice in society, making the family a religious unit and its head a priest.

⁶⁵ Charles Allen Clark, *Religions of Old Korea* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1961), 91.

⁶⁶ Yu-lan Fung, *A Short History of Chinese Philosophy* (New York: The MacMillan Co., 1948), 40.

⁶⁷ Charles Allen Clark, 91.

⁶⁸ James H. Grayson, 61; Woo-keun Han, 63.

⁶⁹ Charles Allen Clark, 91. The Japanese had been Buddhist at heart and had never taken to Confucianism thoroughly. Chinese people had not taken it as seriously as Koreans did.

government during the Koryo dynasty. At the beginning of the Choson dynasty neo-Confucianism had arisen, and the government adapted the Confucian Classics as Korean socio-political policy and as the moral norm. For more than five hundred years Confucianism as the state religion ruled over the living pattern of government and society.⁷⁰

Choson Confucian scholars and government officers did not want to allow the existence and promulgation of other religions. Thus severe persecution followed. First, Confucianism persecuted Shamanism. As the national examination system became the requisite for appointment to civil office in the Koryo dynasty many scholars began to criticise what they regarded as excessive shamanistic influence upon the royal family.⁷¹ During the Choson dynasty the public activity of shamans was totally forbidden,⁷² although the entrance of shamans to royal residence was accepted for a private request (e.g., the mother of the king or the queen).⁷³ Most shamanist temples were pulled down.⁷⁴ Although shamanism was not eradicated from the people's minds, it became less popular at all levels of Confucian society. Moreover, the religion was regarded as little more than superstition and the uneducated shaman did not continue to have influence upon the people.⁷⁵

Secondly, Confucian government persecuted Buddhism in such a way that the former almost destroyed the latter without compromise or adaptation. From the Three Kingdoms up to the middle of Koryo dynasty, no overt conflict existed between Buddhism and Confucianism: the former existed as the state religion and the latter functioned as the government policy, having been in harmony and complementarity

⁷⁰ Dongshik Yu, "The Religions of Korea and the Personality of Koreans", Harold S. Hong (ed.), *Korea Struggles for Christ* (Seoul: Christian Literature of Korea, 1966), 149, 151; Chai-sik Chung, "Confucian-Protestant Encounter in Korea", *CF* 34:1 (1991), 54.

⁷¹ Chai-Shin Yu and R. Guissio, *Shamanism: The Spirit World of Korea* (Berkeley, California: Asian Humanities Press, 1988), 32.

⁷² Woo-sung Sim, 79

⁷³ Cf. James H. Grayson, 256.

⁷⁴ Woo-sung Sim, 79.

⁷⁵ Chai-Shin Yu and R. Guissio, 32-33.

each other.⁷⁶ However, when the late Koryo Confucianism transferred to be a socio-political force and the early Choson Confucianism became the religious concern of the country, Buddhism was the object of persecution. One of the earliest reforms administered under the founder of the Choson dynasty was the cleansing of corrupted Buddhism.⁷⁷ Many kings in the Choson dynasty destroyed the Buddhist temples and converted them into entertainment halls. The king abolished the Buddhist department in the government and thus no more recruitment took place. A high class of monks was degraded into the lowest class, that is, slaves and butchers, and monks were expelled from the capital city and stayed in remote places. Especially in the time of the three kings, Song-jong (r. 1469-94), Yon-san (r. 1494-1506) and Chung-jong (r. 1506-44), Buddhism was completely uprooted from the daily life of the populace.⁷⁸ Overall, the Buddhist influence almost died out during the Choson dynasty.⁷⁹

However, the late Choson government (1884) gave up Confucian ideology as the state policy of its own accord,⁸⁰ and therefore there was no official criterion to criticise other religions. In other words, the Confucian hegemony over other religions was finished. This is why Protestant missions did not face official persecution when they started in Korea in 1885, unlike Catholics who suffered from government persecution. Rather, the early Protestant missionaries were welcomed by the royal court because they made it a policy to win the favour of the royal family. This was accomplished initially through the means of medicine, and they were granted royal permission to open a hospital. Later this permission was expanded to include educational institutes and churches.⁸¹ Mission schools provided contact with the Bible for many students, and the establishment of many churches made it possible to preach the Gospel to the people.

⁷⁶ James H. Grayson, 62, 96, 131.

⁷⁷ Ki-yong Lee, "Religion: Historical Outline", Sung-nyong Lee (ed.), *Korean Studies Today* (Seoul: Institute of Asian Studies, 1970), 13-15; cf. James H. Grayson, 151-55.

⁷⁸ Ki-yong Lee, 14-15.

⁷⁹ Harold S. Hong, "General Picture of the Korean Church, Yesterday and Today", Harold S. Hong (ed.), *Korea Struggles for Christ* (Seoul: Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1966), 14; James H. Grayson, 172-175.

⁸⁰ Cf. James H. Grayson, 172.

⁸¹ Daniel J. Adams, 16.

2. The Development of Confucian Scholarship: *Praeparatio Evangelica* (II)

We have discussed that out of three religions, Confucianism was the principal religion that met the Gospel. Now we will examine further how Korean Confucianism developed as *praeparatio evangelica* in terms of the perspective of Confucian scholarship. The development of Confucian scholarship since the introduction may have been undertaken in several phases: (1) a literary, (2) socio-political, (3) religious, (4) realised phase of the previous three, (5) metaphysical and (6) practical phase.⁸² Each phase has its own emphasis, taking a precedent or precedents as a basis of developing further, while transferring from one to another. Each phase could have contained overlapping element(s) of the following phase(s), but it did not show to be conspicuous. We can hardly draw a line of demarcation between phases, but at least we can see each one characteristically.

(1) Initial Phase. During the time of the Three Kingdoms, Confucianism was viewed as a literary influence upon the literati of the upper class. As a system of scholarship, it stressed the keeping and writing of historical records, the exegesis of the Confucian Classics. It provided Korean education for the royal family and the upper class, and the development of arts, philosophy and the letters.⁸³ Scholars of the Unified Silla kingdom (661-918) adopted the textual and philological criticism which dominated orthodox classical studies from the end of the Han dynasty (206 BC-AD 220) to the end of T'ang dynasty (618-907) in China. Most Han Confucians devoted

⁸² James H. Grayson (60-64, 93-97, 115-118, 128-131, 141-151, 161-170) made an excellent historical analysis on the development of Confucian scholarship. He defines each stage as a continual process of making Korea a Confucian society: cultural, political, religious, social, metaphysical and practical. However, three things are to be considered. First, his term "cultural" is equivalent to my term "initial" in terms of the scope. Confucian scholarship at the initial stage can be regarded as academic research or intellectual activities within a small group of the literati before implementing it for the people. Thus if his term "cultural" means it in a narrow sense, it is suitable to avoid it in my thesis. My definition of "culture" is broader than his, containing all his stages. Each phase is a part of culture and all phases make a fuller sense of culture. See my working definition of culture at section 5 in this introduction. Secondly, his term "political" is equivalent to my term "socio-political" in terms of the scope. Political matters are always related to the social responses and *vice versa*. They are a paired subject. Thirdly, my category "realised phase of the previous three", which is equivalent to his term "social", is to attempt a confirmation of Confucianised society. This society had been attempted to be realised from the beginning of the introduction. Thus we need to point out that it happened at the early Choson period, although neo-Confucianism must carry on to develop at the mercy of the contemporary situation.

⁸³ Ibid., 63, 93.

their attention to the Confucian texts rather than to Confucian thought or philosophy.⁸⁴ At this stage it was seen as a learning process. Frequent communications with China could be assumed to appear in Korea in terms of importing Chinese literature and arts, studying abroad and exchanging literati for the sake of learning. These learning and teaching processes within the scholarship provided the government policy with Confucian ideology.

(2) Socio-political Phase. From the time of the late Silla and United Silla Kingdoms, Confucianism began with the establishment of a Confucian college to teach the classics and developed the government examination by which to select the officials. Also, Confucianism emphasised the rituals and propriety in human relationships in order to practise the Confucian ideal society.⁸⁵ Up to the middle of the Koryo dynasty, the literati generally saw no apparent contradiction in pursuing Confucian practice and Buddhist faith, believing that both were independent and complementary. During the fourteenth century the Mongol invasions affected and deteriorated every aspect of the people and its society. To make matters worse, the general corruption and debauchery of Buddhist monks became the fuel which fed the growth of a new ideology for the government.⁸⁶ At this time the government was not yet Confucian-centred.⁸⁷ However, during the late Koryo dynasty, the literati, dissatisfied with the socio-political life of the days, felt the need of fresh intellectual stimulation. It was Neo-Confucianism of China, arose in the late T'ang dynasty (618-907) and flourished in the Sung dynasty (960-1279), that met the need with its ideas.⁸⁸ The government supported neo-Confucianism as the socio-political force to reform politics and society.

(3) Religious Phase. From the late Koryo dynasty, Confucianism was perceived not only as socio-political but also as a religious force. While supporting Confucianism as the state policy, the government accepted Neo-Confucianism or the philosophy of

⁸⁴ Wing-tsit Chan, "Chinese Religion: Religious and Philosophical Texts", Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* vol. 3 (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1987), 310; Rodney L. Taylor, *The Religious Dimension of Confucianism* (New York: State University of New York Press, 1990), 34.

⁸⁵ James H. Grayson, 93-97.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 119-123.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, 118.

⁸⁸ Peter H. Lee, 448.

Chu Hsi (1130-1200), which introduced the *T'ai-chi* (the Great Monad) to explain the origin of the universe, the concept of the *Yin-Yang*, the five directions and the man.⁸⁹ Furthermore, the Confucian scholars were very much concerned about the new society in relation to the religious reference to the Mandate of Heaven. The new dynasty was justified in the name of the Mencian concept of the Mandate of Heaven as rationalised by Neo-Confucian literati, who then dominated the bureaucracy, government and society in the hope of realising their Confucian ideals.⁹⁰ The first king of the Choson dynasty defended the legitimacy of his coup to this religious concept (*Taejo sillok* 1:43a-45a). King Sejong (r. 1418-50) also legitimised his grandfather King Taejo (r. 1392-98) as appointed to be the king by the Mandate of Heaven (*Songs of Flying Dragons* 145).

(4) Realised Phase. The neo-Confucianism in the late Koryo and the early Choson dynasties was viewed as a combined expression of literary, socio-political and religious dimensions. During the early Choson dynasty, the government generally achieved Confucian ideal society. Particularly at the times of King Sejong and King Songjong (r. 1469-94), the literary, socio-political and religious aspects of Neo-Confucianism were fully expressed.⁹¹ For about two centuries Confucian scholarship enjoyed the realisation of their Confucian society, putting many other government policies into practice.

(5) Metaphysical Phase. In the early Choson dynasty, two philosophical schools were predominant in a circle of the classical literati. *Kwanhak-pa* (School of Administrative Philosophy) hoped that a new state would come about. They envisaged an ideal Confucian society. The other school (*Sarim-pa*) maintained the refusal of the new kingdom. This group believed that loyalty to the king was absolute and non-negotiable. Although both aimed at the reformation of the society, *Kwanhak-pa* scholars were much concerned in immediate and practical manners, while *Sarim-pa* scholars in a more thoroughgoing manner. As the leading scholarship *Sarimp-pa* shaped an ideal society implementing the three main philosophical concepts: a theory of the universe, a theory of knowledge and a theory of morality. This philosophy later in the

⁸⁹ James H. Grayson, 128-29.

⁹⁰ Peter H. Lee, 469.

⁹¹ James H. Grayson, 142-45.

sixteenth century was divided into two schools: the *Churi-pa* (Principle First School) and the *Chugi-pa* (Matter First School). Two schools' debate on *li* and *ki* was a most important philosophical issue occupying the mind of Korean scholars. However, the government, engaged in a century-long debate and enjoined a two century-long peace, did not prepare to defend the Japanese invasion which was predicted but ignored.⁹² The country became devastated and the literati responded to the solution in a practical way.

(6) Practical Phase. In the late Choson dynasty, Neo-Confucianism was seen as practical philosophy. Due to frequent invasions from Manchu, political factionalism and wasted economy and agricultural system, the society was decayed and the people were frustrated. Out of this situation, *Sirhak-pa* (School of Practical Learning), which was derived from the philosophy of Yulgok (1536-84), concentrated on reform in two areas: agriculture and commerce.⁹³ On the other hand, this group of literati studied the Catholic literature with the hope of learning about Western civilisation, rejecting the futile debates over textual criticism or metaphysical debates of contemporary of issues or fine points of etiquette which characterised Neo-Confucian thought.⁹⁴ Many scholars in this school met the Gospel and were immersed in it.

3. The Study of the Confucian Classics: *Praeparatio Evangelica* (III)

Since the Confucian Classics were the textbooks of Confucianism, the study of the Confucian Classics was fundamental for students. Confucius urged everyone to study the classics. From "the son of heaven" to the common people, they had to cultivate themselves and realise the way from the classics.⁹⁵ Confucius himself was an ardent student of the classics. *The Analects of Confucius* expresses his love of studying (Ana 1.1), his devotion to study at the age of fifteen (Ana 2.4) and his tireless study during the major part of his life (Ana 7.2). Confucius studied the Five Classics which

⁹² Peter H. Lee, 477.

⁹³ James H. Grayson, 161-62.

⁹⁴ Kyu-tae Yi, *Modern Transformation of Korea* (Seoul: Sejong Publishing Company, 1970), 181.

⁹⁵ Wing-Tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 44.

represents his reading and teaching materials.⁹⁶ His teaching resulted in the production of the Four Books, and these books were the works of his followers, their records of Confucius' sayings and their interpretations or developments of Confucius' thoughts.⁹⁷ The Confucian Classics provided the main materials of teaching and learning in the relationship between a teacher and his disciples from generation to generation. Chu Hsi (1130-1200) also insisted on moral cultivation, teaching on, among other matters, how to study and how to examine oneself.⁹⁸ Chu Hsi made an important editorial contribution by arranging the Four Books in a design reflecting his way of learning Confucianism.⁹⁹ The Four Books constituted the most basic reading for all students, and they were designed for learning what the ancients knew.¹⁰⁰

Having inherited the importance of the study of the classics from Chinese Confucianism, Korean Confucianism emphasised the study of the classics. This started when it became necessary for the rulers and for recruiting officials. A brief history is as follows: (i) During the Unified Silla kingdom the dominant influence of Chinese culture had been reflected in the national education system for public service. Those who wished to become government officials had to acquire a knowledge of the Confucian Classics. An institute for public service was a nine-year course primarily teaching the Confucian Classics. The school had three departments, all teaching *The Analects of Confucius* and *The Book of Filial Piety*, but each offering different sets of additional classics. That all courses included the two books as essentials shows the emphasis on both academic endeavour and Confucian morality.¹⁰¹ (ii) The educational trends during the Koryo dynasty were strongly influenced by Confucianism even though

⁹⁶ Yu-lan Fung, 40. The Five Classics constituted the cultural legacy of the past, which had been the basis of education for the aristocrats during the early century of feudalism of the Chou dynasty, and which began to offer among the people. At this time the literati as professional teachers of the classics made their living by teaching the classics or by acting as skilled assistants in the rituals or as political advisors in the government.

⁹⁷ Yu-tang Lin (ed.), *The Wisdom of Confucius* (New York: Random House, 1943), 25.

⁹⁸ Wing-tsit Chan, *A Source Book in Chinese Philosophy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1969), 214.

⁹⁹ Wing-tsit Chan, *Chu Hsi and Neo-Confucianism* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986), 27.

¹⁰⁰ Li Fu Chen, *The Confucian Way: A New and Systematic Study of the Four Books* (London: KPI, 1986), 23.

¹⁰¹ Ick-Dal Kim, *Korea: Its People and Culture* (Seoul: Hakwon-sa, 1970), 183.

the state religion was Buddhism. The prevailing attitude was to regard Confucian teachings as sources for socio-political policy and to conceive Buddhist teachings as moral lessons for individual behaviour. During the dynasty, public educational institutes developed further, the public service examination system was firmly established and private schools also flourished. The major part of the curriculum of the nine-year school was the Confucian Classics. Students who finished more than three years of study were eligible for the public service examination.¹⁰² (iii) The curriculum at national schools in the Choson dynasty consisted of *The Elementary Learning*, the *Classics of Filial Piety*, the *Four Books*, the *Five Classics*, philosophical and ritual texts by Neo-Confucians, and various Korean and Chinese works of poetry and history. The state schools at the main cities and throughout the country prospered, and private schools were also popular among the upper class. The students were accorded certain privileges, including exemption from military service and the right to sit for the preliminary examinations upon the successful completion of the coursework.¹⁰³

Overall, the study of moral knowledge was prized and it was believed to be best pursued through the study of the Confucian Classics and other Neo-Confucian texts.¹⁰⁴ This incentive to study had lasted quite a long time, until the late Choson dynasty. When Confucianism as the state religion was practically finished, government examination was abolished, and official position no longer depended upon one's knowledge of Chinese books. So all incentives to study the classics were diminished, but the zeal for knowledge would not die out easily. At this time the encounter with the Bible, as new knowledge and faith, was able to attract the heart of the people.

In summary, we have shown that Confucianism developed a fertile milieu as a *praeparatio evangelica* through the interactions of other religions, the development of Confucian scholarship in charge of the government policies and the study of the classics for the candidacy of scholar-officials. These three perspectives give us a clear understanding of Confucianism as a *praeparatio evangelica*.

¹⁰² Ibid., 184.

¹⁰³ JaHyun Kim Haboush, "The Confucianization of Korean Society", Guilbert Rozman (ed.), *Confucian Heritage and Its Modern Adaptation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991), 93.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., 94.

4. Contact with the Bible

It was not until the latter part of the eighteenth century that a small group of Confucian scholars was first introduced to Catholicism, known as *Sohak* (Western Learning). They became much impressed with Western science and were also interested in Christianity. They read elementary treatises written by the Jesuit missionaries in China, such as Matteo Ricci's *True Doctrine of the Lord of Heaven* (1603), *Ten Paradoxes* (1608), *Disputation with Idolaters* (1609). These represented the first Christian literature which Korean Confucian scholars read and studied.¹⁰⁵ By asking a favour of this group a son of a member of royal embassy to China brought back Chinese Bibles, books and articles on Christian doctrine. They read and discussed their new found religion among their friends and neighbours, laying the foundations of the Catholic church in Korea.

In fact, these Confucian scholars assumed certain priestly functions, including the sacrament of baptism.¹⁰⁶ This aspect of the history of Catholic missions is noteworthy because it was Confucian scholars themselves who initiated and performed many functions of the church. One of the most important aspects in the history of Catholicism in Korea lies in its origin. Unlike many other countries, where Catholicism was first brought by foreign missionaries, in Korea it began with a kind of "self-study" (self-directed study) of Christian literature by natives.¹⁰⁷ Reading the Bible in this study contributed to conversions among the Confucian scholars, as St. Augustine read Romans 13:12-14 by himself and was converted.

In the earlier stage of Protestant missions a few attempts at distributing the Bible in Korea were made by foreign missionaries. Because of a political ban on Christianity, the distribution of the Bible was the only possible way to introduce the Gospel into Korea until the Korean-French treaty in 1884. This was effected through a number of individuals: (i) Karl Gutzlaff (1803-1851), a missionary of the Netherland Missionary Society in China who engaged in the translation of the Bible into Chinese, tried to make an official contact for missionary work. While he was waiting for a reply

¹⁰⁵ Grant Lee, "Persecution and Success of Roman Catholic Church in Korea", *KJ* 28:1 (1988), 16-27.

¹⁰⁶ James H. Grayson, 177-181; L. George Paik, 31.

¹⁰⁷ Chiyong Choe, *The Rule of the Taewon-gun 1864-73: Restoration in Yi Korea* (Cambridge; Mass.: East Asia Research Center, Harvard University Press, 1972), 91.

from the royal court, Gutzlaff distributed Chinese Bibles and religious tracts to the people. After two weeks they were told that Korea could not have any contact with foreigners: they had to leave Korea.¹⁰⁸ (ii) J. M. Tronson, commander of a British survey ship, appeared on the south coast in August 1854 and distributed Japanese Bibles and tracts. He found that the Korean people read and were eager to get copies. Before he sailed for Nagasaki he presented an old man with a New Testament and confirmed that he could read the Japanese Bible.¹⁰⁹ (iii) Robert Thomas, a missionary to China with the London Missionary Society on board an American trading ship, *General Sherman*, which sought to open trade with Korea, sailed up the Taedong River to Pyongyang (the capital city of North Korea now). When the ship was stuck in the shallow stream it was set on fire and destroyed by order of the Magistrate. All members of the crew were massacred on 2 September 1866, including Thomas. He became the first Protestant martyr in Korea. Later a man who received a Chinese New Testament from Thomas was found and he used that Bible in the Bible study class.¹¹⁰ (iv) These three cases represent Protestant missionaries' attempts at spreading the Bibles printed in Chinese and Japanese. People who knew either Chinese or Japanese were probably government officers or Confucian scholars. They could read it and become Christians.

However, a vernacular Bible was needed in order for the majority of people to read the Bible. The most remarkable work in the Korean history of Protestant missions could be the translation of the Bible into Korean. It was in 1875 that the first personal encounter with Protestantism occurred when Korean middle class merchant who were literary and good at Chinese met John Ross (1842-1915), who was a missionary of the United Presbyterian Church of Scotland in China.¹¹¹ These people helped him to translate the Bible. Later Confucian scholars joined to translate the Bible.¹¹² Korean versions of the Gospel of Luke and the Gospel of John were published in 1882. The

¹⁰⁸ Sung-il Choi, *John Ross (1842-1915) and the Korean Protestant Church: The First Korean Bible and Its Relation to Protestant Origins in Korea* (Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, Edinburgh University 1992), 33-35.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., 36.

¹¹⁰ Ibid., 39.

¹¹¹ James H. Grayson, 195-196; Dongshik Yu, 129-30.

¹¹² The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, *A History of Korean Church* vol. 1 (Seoul: The Christian Literature Press, 1989), 143, 148.

Gospel of Mark and the Gospel of Matthew were published in 1884, followed by the publication of the Epistle to the Romans in 1885, and all the New Testament was translated into Korean and published in 1887.¹¹³

These Confucian elite or scholars who later joined were attracted to Christianity by translating and reading the Bible. These scholars must have been deeply impressed by the magnificent scheme of the Sermon on the Mount. Comparing it with Confucian doctrines, they found in it some unique features in the ethical teachings of Jesus. In spite of some sharp differences with Confucian ethics, there must have been both a sudden and gradual conversion among these Confucian scholars.¹¹⁴ They must have held to the superiority of the Bible over the Confucian Classics.¹¹⁵ One of the assistant translators went from China to Korea with part of the New Testament and set up the first Korean Protestant church.¹¹⁶ The significance of the Korean Protestant church in its beginning, as that of the Catholic church, is that the church started without foreign missionaries, enjoyed reading the Bible and Christian literature with a desire to become Christians, and waited for missionaries from abroad.

Another translation of the Bible was brought into Korea from Japan. Some Koreans had gone to Japan to study the sciences and while there they made contact with the church. Sujong Yi (d. 1886), a Confucian scholar, read the Chinese Bible and a commentary on Mark and other books on Christianity. He was a diligent student of the Bible and he made a great effort to witness for Christ among his Korean friends. He began to translate the scriptures through referring to Chinese and Japanese Bibles. His translation of the Gospel of Mark was published in 1884 by the American Bible Society

¹¹³ Sung Joon Kim, *A History of the Korean Churches* (Seoul: The Christian Culture Association, 1993), 77. All the Old Testament was also translated and published in 1911.

¹¹⁴ Harold S. Hong, 14.

¹¹⁵ S. J. Samartha ("The Asian Context: Source and Trends", R. S. Sugirtharajah (ed.), *Voice from the Margin: Interpreting the Bible in the Third World* [London: SPCK, 1991] 74) criticised the view that Asian Christians hold the superiority of the Bible over other scriptures. It is true that, as in any other faith communities in Asian religions, scriptural authority is absolute within each faith community. So it is quite natural that biblical authority is accepted without question within the Christian faith community. Korean Christians were formerly Shamanists, Buddhists or Confucians in their faiths. Particularly Korean Christians converted from Confucianism, who once held the scriptural authority of the Confucian Classics, believe that the Bible is superior to them. In fact, the Confucian Classics are mainly books of socio-political philosophy with some religious aspects, and not as such a religious canon.

¹¹⁶ Chae-yong Chu, "A History of the Protestant Church in Korea from a New Perspective", Chai-shin Yu (ed.), *Korea and Christianity* (Seoul: Korean Scholars Press, 1996), 145-47.

in Japan. He was so anxious to see his country evangelised that he sent a petition to the churches in America, urging them to open missionary work in Korea. Horace G. Underwood and Henry G. Appenzeller came to Korea in 1885 with the Korean translation of the Gospel of Mark translated by Soo Jung Lee.¹¹⁷ It is a rare case in the history of Christian missions that foreign missionaries have come in the first instance to a country with a Bible in the language of the people to whom they would preach.

Through the enthusiasm for Bible study the Gospel was spread extensively among the people. One of the primary policies of the first Korean churches was to emphasise "systematic Bible study for every believer under his group leader and circuit helper".¹¹⁸ From the beginning of the church all believers were encouraged to study the Bible and to be able to pass on what they had learned. Bible Study Conferences, the Bible Correspondence system and Bible schools nourished the church and its local leadership in Korea. The Bible was the primary source of Christian life and Korean Christians had a full knowledge of the texts in the Bible. Believers were aware of the importance of the Bible as the teaching of Christ and they were diligent in studying and following its teachings.

Particularly, the "Bible women"¹¹⁹ contributed to the propagation of the Gospel. They served in four areas. First, the "Bible women" served as interpreters for women missionaries in learning the Korean language and customs and in delivering the Gospel to women. Secondly, the "Bible women" served as itinerant workers. They travelled in urban and rural areas. Thirdly, the "Bible women" served as educators. They taught hymns, Bible stories, and simple Christian doctrine. Fourthly, they served as leaders. In rural, isolated areas, they were the ones who led small groups for Bible study and pastoral care.¹²⁰ The women of the church have always constituted the majority among Korean believers.

¹¹⁷ Chang Whan Park, "Translation of the Bible", Harold S. Hong (ed.), 186; Chung-choon Kim, "The Confessing Church in Korea", *SEAJT* 8 (1967), 186-87.

¹¹⁸ Allen D. Clark, *A History of the Church in Korea* (Seoul: The Christian Literature Society of Korea, 1971), 87; Spencer J. Palmer, 27.

¹¹⁹ "Bible woman" means a female unordained minister, called *chundobuin*. *Chundo* means "evangelism" and *buin* means "lady" or "married woman". This term is no longer used, and *chundosa* is now used to refer to a woman or to a man unordained minister.

¹²⁰ Fang-lan Chou, "Bible Women and the Development of Education in the Korean Church", Mark R. Mullins & Richard Fox Young (eds.), *Perspectives in Christianity in Korea and Japan* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 34.

Contact with the Bible was made possible for young students through the opening of mission schools. Modern secondary schools in Korea were founded by Protestant missionaries, and all such schools in the last few decades of the nineteenth century and the first few decades of the twentieth century were mission schools. These institutions were cited as the most important evidence of the positive role of Protestant missions in the evangelisation of Korean society. These modern educational institutes offered new courses in mathematics, geography, history, natural history, English, *Chinese Classics* and the *Bible*. This curriculum was designed for converts of the lower class, but later it attracted the upper class and produced many leading figures in both the Christian movements and the socio-political arena.¹²¹ Many of the early converts and leaders in the church were sons of Neo-Confucian scholars. Sonju Kil (1869-1935), for example, had studied the classics and, following his conversion to Christianity, studied the Bible with the same intensity and dedication. He became one of the most effective Bible teachers and ministers in Korea.¹²² Korean Christians of the upper class were mostly intellectual and they remembered the proper chapters and verses. Korean Christians were in general *Homo unius Libri* (the man of one book), as John Wesley put it to Methodists.¹²³

4. The Bible and the Confucian Classics: A Study of the Relationship between the Gospel and Culture

The Bible and the Confucian Classics are the most authentic materials in our study of the relationship between the Gospel and culture. We have seen that the Bible was considered the only tool of the early Protestant missions to the Korean people. Government policy against Christianity led to the alternative missionary policy of delivering or spreading the Bible, instead of resident missionary work in Korea. Yet the welcoming gesture of the government in later times prompted missionary works by publications of the Bible and Christian literature and by the building of many mission schools and churches which provided education in the Bible and the Christian faith. For

¹²¹ Kyung Dong Kim, "The Role of the Christian Church in the Modernization of Korean Society", Harold S. Hong (ed.), 203.

¹²² Allen D. Clark, 175.

¹²³ Harold S. Hong, 19.

Korean people the Bible was the Gospel,¹²⁴ which could meet their needs not otherwise satisfied by the classics. The birth of the Korean Bible disseminated the Gospel speedily among the upper class (who could read Chinese or Japanese) and the common people (who could read only Korean). In particular, the vernacular Bible was revolutionary in effecting the mass evangelisation of the many women who could read only Korean. Korean Protestantism has been centred on the Bible and the Bible has been the main text book in the Korean Protestant church.

It is evident, as we have noted, that Confucianism has been a deep and wide religious tradition in Korea. The Confucian Classics were the normative teachings of Confucian scholars, and the students or the followers had to study and practise their teachings. This teaching influenced the socio-political realm of the Korean people and dictated moral conduct and values in Korean society for many centuries. In other words, the teaching and studying of the Confucian Classics shaped a Confucian culture and

¹²⁴ The word "Gospel" is not necessarily the same as that of the Four Gospels in the New Testament. Rather, it is *euangelion* used earlier in Greek to mean "good news". The New Testament also uses the term to mean "good news". Seventy-three occurrences of the term *euangelion* are used in the New Testament in different ways. Matthew qualifies the "gospel" with "of the kingdom" (Mt 4:23; 24:14), except for in 26:13, where there is the demonstrative "this" gospel, which may be the same meaning of "the gospel of the kingdom". Mark uses the term "gospel" without qualification, and also "the gospel of Jesus Christ" (Mk 1:1) and "the gospel of God" (Mk 1:14). Luke only uses the verbal form (*euangelizo*) in his gospel (2:10; 7:22; 8:1), but employs the noun in Acts (Acts 15:7; 20:24). Paul uses the term without qualification (Rom 1:16; 11:28; 1 Cor 9:18; Phil 1:15; 2:22; 1 Thess 2:4), and with qualifications "the gospel of God" (Rom 1:1; 15:16; 2 Cor 11:7; 1 Thess 2:2, 8, 9; 1 Tim 1:11) and "the gospel of Christ" (Rom 15:19; 2 Cor 2:12; 4:4; 9:12-13; Gal 1:7; Phil 1:27). But Paul, unlike the Synoptists, speaks in a number of instances of "my gospel" (Rom 2:16; 16:25; 2 Tim 2:8) or "our gospel" (2 Cor 4:3; 1 Thess 1:5; 2 Thess 2:14; cf. 1 Cor 15:1; Gal 1:11; 2:2; Rev 14:6). The term gospel appears with or without qualifying nouns and adjectives, but the meaning of it in all cases seems to be the same, indicating the gospel of God or Christ. The understanding of the gospel of God and Jesus can lead us to the identification of the gospel with the Bible.

The definition of the Gospel as the Bible in terms of Protestant missiology can be made less difficult. This definition is supported by several modern scholars. Jacob A. Loewen ("The Gospel: its Content and Communication - An Anthropological Perspective", John R. Scott and Robert Coote, eds. *Down to Earth: Studies in Christianity and Culture* [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981], 118) says, "My use of Gospel embraces not only the New Testament, but the whole Bible". Julius Lipner ("Facets of the Relationship between the Gospel and Culture", *IRM* 74 [1985], 158) also states that the Gospel is good news in the New Testament, rooted in the Old Testament. Lancelot Oliver (*New Testament Christianity* [Birmingham: Publishing Committee of Churches of Christ, 1911], 99) says that we hold the Bible to be the Word of God and the Gospel can be said to be in a real sense the Word. The Willow Report reads, "The gospel is to be found in the Bible. In fact, there is a sense in which the whole Bible is gospel, from Genesis to Revelation." John R. W. Stott and Robert Coote (eds.), 318. I. Howard Marshall ("Culture and the New Testament", John R. Scott and Robert Coote, eds. *Down to Earth: Studies in Christianity and Culture* [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981], 17-32) and S. Ananda Kumar ("Culture and the Old Testament", John R. Scott and Robert Coote, eds. *Down to Earth: Studies in Christianity and Culture* [London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1981], 33-48) deal with culture and New Testament and Old Testament respectively under the section of culture and the Bible. The Gospel means the Bible in the Protestant circle.

made Korea a Confucian society.¹²⁵ We can understand Korean culture to a large extent by examining the Confucian Classics.

5. A Methodological Consideration

In our study of the Bible and the Confucian Classics we will concentrate principally upon the texts and interpretation of the texts within the book, with less historical background of the texts. Recently, a "cross-textual" hermeneutics was proposed by Archie C. C. Lee as a proper approach for Asian biblical interpretation. He criticises both the traditional interpretation, which is the "text-alone approach", as an irrelevance to Asian perspectives, and the "text-context" approach which applies the meaning of the text into the context, as inadequate, ignoring the existence of other sacred literature which has nurtured Asian peoples.¹²⁶ Lee's concept of the cross-textual interpretation is viewed as biblical preference to and authority over other religious texts. Thus this cross-textual interpretation fits the task of attempting an interaction between biblical texts and Confucian texts.

6. Structure of the Thesis

In the introduction we have made a historical survey which interprets Korean Confucianism as a preparation for the acceptance of the Gospel. We also suggested that the study of the Confucian Classics with eagerness and dedication made a similar approach to the Bible in the same manner easier. Since the "fulfilment view" is adopted in understanding the Gospel in terms of culture, our attempt to understand Korean culture initially necessitates an interpretation of the Confucian Classics, and then cultural accommodation of the Gospel should be made in the light of biblical perspectives. In the following chapters we will discuss how Confucian filial piety was

¹²⁵ To define culture in a simple or an appropriate way is very difficult since there has been a great deal of discussion on how to define the term resulting in various definitions. We will choose one of them as a working definition: "The integrated system of learned patters of behaviour, ideas, products and characteristic of a society." Paul G. Hiebert, "Culture and Cross-Cultural Differences", Ralph D. Winter (ed.), *Perspectives on the World Christian Movement: A Reader* (Pasadena; California: William Carey, 1981), 367. It can be said that Korea is a Confucian society which has been learned from, integrated and implemented by the Confucian Classics.

¹²⁶ Archie C. C. Lee, "Biblical Interpretation in Asian Perspectives", *AJT* 7:1 (1993), 35-39.

fulfilled in terms of filial piety towards God the Father, and we will shape a theology of filial piety on the basis of our discussion.

Chapter One searches for the central theme in the Confucian Classics. The question of which is the central theme is an on-going debate among Confucian scholars. It is asserted that their own themes are central without detailed support from the Confucian Classics. A lengthy discussion aims to establish what is the central theme. This will also indicate whether filial piety was the official culture and popular culture particularly in the early Chou dynasty.

Chapter Two argues that filial piety in early Korean literature was in continuity with the filial piety of the Confucian Classics and was used as an important ideology to suppress Buddhism. It will be noted that, as a whole, the concept of filial piety in the Confucian Classics influenced Korean filial piety, and filial piety was a very important practice in Korean society. At the same time we will look at how the theme of filial piety was used to almost destroy Buddhism in the Choson dynasty.

Chapter Three examines how ancestor worship weakened in Korean culture and how Biblical narratives and Christians deal with ancestor worship. The controversial issue lies in which one is more emphasised, filial piety for living parents or ancestor worship. The common understanding which considers these to be equal is countered by the knowledge that it is filial piety that is more emphasised in the Confucian Classics and early Korean literature. Several factors that weakened the status of ancestor worship will demonstrate that ancestor worship is no longer a hindrance to accepting the Gospel. Furthermore, we will show how Catholics and Protestants were against ancestor worship, and we will examine whether ancestor worship was practised in ancient Israel. These sociological, Biblical discussions and Christian attitude will support the aim of this chapter.

Chapter Four attempts to show that filial piety in the Confucian Classics and early Korean literature is in continuity with filial piety towards Yahweh in the Old Testament. We know that the Confucian Classics emphasise filial piety as the central theme and early Korean literature stresses filial piety as a very important moral concept. For Korean people filial piety is still the popular culture. Thus it is expected that while reading the Bible they will focus on the theme of filial piety, and they will find out its continuity with the Gospel in terms of filial piety. In this regard we will argue why and

how filial piety for Yahweh the Father is emphasised within six books (Exodus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea and Malachi) in the Old Testament.

Chapter Five examines the filial piety of Jesus in the Four Gospels as an aspect of *imitatio Christi*. The human life of Jesus Christ has served as an example set forth for imitation, although it has usually been more than an example. What that imitation implies concretely for Christians has been a continuing issue and problem, but the imitation of his example has come to mean the application of what Jesus did on Earth to one's own situation. In order to survey the *imitatio Christi*, we will interpret Biblical pericopae relevant to the discussion concerning the filial respect of Jesus towards his human parents and the filial piety of Jesus towards his heavenly Father, and also we will perform Biblical exegesis to draw conclusions concerning the realised filial piety of the disciples towards their heavenly Father.

Chapter Six shapes a theology of filial piety as an authentic and a new local theology. In shaping this local theology a proper model is necessary. First of all, we will examine the models of two scholars (Robert J. Schreiter and Stephen B. Bevans) and elicit a better model. This model consists of two main criteria (cultural relevance and Biblical faithfulness), which are used for the evaluation of local theologies and the shape of a new local theology. Based upon these criteria, a basic outline of a theology of filial piety will be established. The theology of filial piety will be limited possibly to the Four Gospels, leaving room for future ramification.

CHAPTER ONE: Filial Piety as the Central Theme in the Confucian Classics

Introduction

Ten out of the thirteen Confucian Classics became a major part of Korean literature. While what are known as the Six Books (*The Book of History*, *The Book of Rites*, *The Book of Changes*, *The Analects of Confucius*, *Spring and Autumn Annals* and *The Book of Filial Piety*) had been the textbooks of government policy and civil service examination during the period of the late Silla Kingdom in Korea (1243-1391),¹ a new categorisation of Confucian texts, which was made in the Chinese northern Sung dynasty (960-1279), which was accepted in the Korean Choson dynasty (1392-1910).² This new category consisted of the Four Books (*The Analects of Confucius*, *The Great Learning*, *The Doctrine of the Mean* and *The Book of Mencius*) and the Five Classics (*The Book of History*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Book of Changes*, *The Book of Rites*, and *Spring and Autumn Annals*), thus excluding *The Book of Filial Piety*. But *The Book of Filial Piety*, which had received the title "classic" (*ching*) for the first time when the category of the Thirteen Classics was established, had, along with *The Analects of Confucius*, long been the most important book in Korea.³

In this new category the Four Books have been more valued than the Five Classics. The former are considered to reflect the actual words of Confucius and his followers, whereas the latter are regarded just as a compilation of pre-Confucian sources.⁴ Moreover, the prominent Neo-Confucian scholar Chu Hsi emphasised the importance of the Four Books and provided a programme of learning and self-cultivation based on the Four Books.⁵ However, it should be noted that *The Book of History* and *The Book of Odes* were earlier works and original inspirations for the Four Books, and that *The Great Learning* and *The Doctrine of the Mean* were originally two chapters of *The Book of Rites*.

¹ James H. Grayson, 94.

² JaHyun Kim Haboush, "Confucianism in Korea", Mircea Eliade (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of Religion* vol. 4 (New York: MacMillan Publishing Company, 1987), 10.

³ James H. Grayson, 94; JaHyun Kim Haboush, 10.

⁴ Cf. Li Fu Chen, 1-5.

⁵ Wing-tsit Chan, "Chinese Religion: Religious and Philosophical Texts", 310; Rodney L. Taylor, 34.

Now we need to pose the question of whether our selected books are sufficient to establish the validity of our work, since we will deal with only the Four Books and two of the classics (*The Book of History* and *The Book of Odes*), not with all Thirteen Classics. The answer is clear enough: "The student should use *The Analects* and *The Book of Mencius* as the foundation. When they have been well studied, the Six Classics can be understood without study."⁶ The validity of our work will be established if the discussion follows as such: *The Book of History*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Analects of Confucius*, *The Great Learning*, *The Doctrine of the Mean* and *The Book of Mencius*. Furthermore, *The Book of Filial Piety* will be used as the principal reference for our overall argument.

1. Definitions

What is filial piety (Chinese *hsiao*, Korean *hyo*)? The word means etymologically "an old man seated on or supported by a son". But it has variations of meaning in the classics. First, it is defined as honouring one's parents. Being a son who practises filial piety is to bring honour to one's parents. A son should live with great prudence so that he may not dishonour them. To put it another way, he may honour them through moral, academic, or political achievements (BFP 1). Being a royal bureaucrat implied in itself not only having a good income and high prestige but also bringing great honour to one's parents and ancestors.

Secondly, filial piety is defined as obeying one's parents. *The Analects of Confucius* stresses parental authority (Ana 1.6; 1.11; 2.5), but it does not encourage any blind obedience which takes parents to be infallible. In fact Confucianism sees parents as human-beings who may make mistakes or trespass in regard to moral principles. Nevertheless, even when parents have done wrong children should not respect them less. They may remonstrate with them with gentleness and persistence (BFP 20).

Thirdly, filial piety is defined as supporting one's parents physically with love and reverence (BFP 1, 2, 5, 6, 10, 12, 13, 20-22). Nourishment of one's parents for their physical well-being, with love and reverence as necessary virtues and as a sign of gratitude, is regarded as the proper way to serve them. Confucius deemed it a nonsense

⁶ Wing-tsit Chan (trans.), *Reflection on Things at Hand, The Neo-Confucian Anthology Compiled by Chu Hsi and Lu Tsu-chien* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1967), 39.

if a son's support of his parents was done with reluctance and grudgingly, not out of love and reverence. In other words, without love and reverence, parents are not in any sense served and honoured (Ana 2.7).

Fourthly, the worship of deceased parents is regarded as filial piety (Ode 283; BFP 9, 10, 22; GL 3.3; 9.1; 10.1; DM 17.1; 18.23). Filial piety thus implies serving one's parents not only while they are living, but also after they are dead. Confucius said: "While your parents live, serve them according to propriety; when they die, bury them according to propriety; and offer sacrifice to them according to propriety" (Ana 2.5). Burial for the deceased parents is not religiously related to ancestral worship, although the former is not always excluded from the possible tendency toward the latter. Regarding the rite of the deceased parents, one should offer the rites in the prescribed manner (Ana 19.17).

Fifthly, filial piety is defined as the root of all virtues (BFP 1).⁷ All virtue principally refers to the Five Virtues, that is, benevolence (*en*), righteousness (*i*), propriety (*li*), wisdom (*chih*), and sincerity (*hsin*), which are called the Five Constants (*wu-ch'ang*).⁸ Filial piety is also an all-embracing virtue and the root of all virtue, the centre round which all other virtues revolve.

⁷ The word "virtue" (*te*) means a specific quality or virtue latent in anything. It has, in early Confucian literature, the meaning of virtue as opposed to vice, and the meaning of virtue in such expressions as "the virtue of herbs". In an individual it is a force or power closely akin to what we call character and frequently corresponds to the term "moral force". Cf. Arthur Waley (trans.), *The Analects of Confucius* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1964), 33. From a study of many passages in *The Book of History* and *The Book of Odes*, we can see that it is the quality which made it possible for the early kings to receive and hold the Mandate of Heaven. The ruler with *te* was regarded as a reflection of the Way of Heaven. Cf. Water Gorn Old (trans.), *The Shu King* (London: The Theosophical Publishing Society, 1904), 203. By virtue, rulers were deemed worthy to take their place on the throne and on a par with Heaven. Cf. D. Howard Smith, *Chinese Religions* (London: The Trinity Press, 1968), 24. This virtue might work for good or evil, but in *The Book of History* it is almost always regarded as working for good. It was a divine or kingly moral power used for the good of the people. In *The Analects of Confucius* virtue is seen as an endowment from Heaven to man. The word *te* is used in this sense when Confucius, facing a threat to his life, says, "Heaven is author of the virtue that is in me" (Ana 7.23). This usage is not, however, common in the book. By the time of Confucius, this "virtue" must already have become a moral term. It is something one cultivates, and it enables one to govern a state well. From Confucius' point of view, the rulers of his day were no longer exemplifying virtue. They were instead morally corrupt, and thus Confucius' primary advice was to suggest that the rulers must return to earlier models so that they can establish their virtue. For Confucius, the primary method whereby this can be accomplished is for the individual to cultivate and develop his own inner moral nature. But "virtue" is endowed with a new ethical meaning in *The Book of Filial Piety*, where it declares that one should have a complete personality made up of the Five Virtues collectively termed filial piety.

⁸ Jang-tae Keum, *Yukyo Sasang gwa Hankook Sahoe [Confucian Thought and Korean Society]* (Seoul: Traditional Culture Institute, 1996), 22; James Legge, *Sacred Books of the East* vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879), 466.

2. The Centripetal Approaches

What is the central theme in the Confucian Classics? Is it filial piety? There have been two main opinions concerning this issue. Wing-tsit Chan asserts that *en* is the central idea in the Confucian system, around which the whole Confucian movement developed.⁹ Tu Wei-ming also says that “*en* occupies the central position around which other cardinal virtues are ordered.”¹⁰ Jang-tae Kum maintains that *The Analects of Confucius* is the most important book, the one in which we can comprehend the most essential ideas of Confucius, of which *en* is the centre.¹¹ The arguments of these scholars are based on two premises: that *en* is the virtue most frequently mentioned in *The Analects of Confucius*; and that *The Analects of Confucius* is the most authentic record of the sayings of Confucius.

However, there are different opinions which assert that filial piety is the central theme in Confucianism. Yu-wei Hsieh says, “Without filial piety as their mainstay, all go adrift in confusion, or are limited in their development and application.”¹² He explains the relationship between benevolence (*en*) and filial piety, and argues that the former must have its root in the latter, and that the former needs realisation through the actual practice of the latter.¹³ Sung Bum Yun claims that *en* without filial piety is not really *en*, that *en* without filial piety cannot possibly exist, and that *en* without filial piety is blindness and vanity.¹⁴ A group of Confucian studies holds that *en* is the extension of filial piety, that *en* is realised through filial piety.¹⁵ The scholars of both sides do not, however, provide sufficient textual argument.

⁹ Wing-tsit Chan, “The Story of Chinese Philosophy”, Charles A. Moore (ed.), *The Chinese Mind: Essentials of Chinese Philosophy and Culture* (Honolulu: University Press of Hawaii, 1974), 33.

¹⁰ Wei-ming Tu, “*En* as a living metaphor in the Confucian Analects”, *PEW* 31 (1981), 45.

¹¹ Jang-tae Keum, *Yuhak Sasang Ihae* [Understanding of Confucian Ideas] (Seoul: Jipmoon-dang, 1996), 45.

¹² Yu-Wei Hsieh, “Filial Piety and Chinese Society”, Charles A. Moore, (ed.), *The Chinese Mind: Essentials of Chinese Philosophy and Culture* (Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1974), 171.

¹³ Ho Sai Ming, “The Chinese Concept of Filial Piety”, *SEAJT* 3 (1961), 54.

¹⁴ Sung Bum Yun, *Hyo ga Mooeut inga?* [What is Hyo?] (Seoul: Samil Book House, 1995), 112-113.

¹⁵ Sungkyunkwan University, *Yuhak Sasang* [Confucian Thought] (Seoul: Sungkyunkwan University Press, 1996), 78.

Along with two main opinions, there are some other assertions that each book has its own emphasis or central theme: *The Book of History* stresses government by virtue; *The Analects of Confucius* emphasises the concept of *chün-tzu*; *The Great Learning* highlights the cultivation of one's personality as central; *The Doctrine of the Mean* has its emphasis upon the Way of the *chün-tzu*, sincerity, the Mandate of Heaven and the Way of the sage; and *The Book of Mencius* deals with the Way of Yao and Shun as central.

2.1. *The Book of History*

Shu-ching, a title translated as *The Book of History* or *The Book of Documents*, is the earliest Chinese historical work. Tradition says that Confucius assembled, arranged and provided an introduction to each of the various documents that make up this work. It is believed, however, that most of the introductions appearing in the standard recensions of the work were written by authors who came after Confucius.¹⁶ But, as Confucius and his disciples often referred to the book, Confucius' involvement with *The Book of History* cannot be entirely discounted.

The fifty-eight chapters of this book include writings on the Five Eras, those of the reign of Yao (BH 1.1-2.1.4), the reign of Shun (2.1.5-2.4.3), the Hsia dynasty (3.1-3.4), the Shang dynasty (4.1-4.11) and the Chou dynasty (5.1-5.30). The writing on each era consists of a short account of a historical event, followed by an essay or dialogue mainly stressing "government by virtue".¹⁷ The most frequently used term "virtue" (*te*), which is mentioned one hundred and eighty-nine times, appears in almost every chapter in this book. The sayings of the kings and his ministers on government issues, and the matter of government by virtue, occupy the major part of the book, virtue being taken as the principal means of running a government. What then is the place of filial piety in *The Book of History*, a book which deals mainly with government by virtue?

¹⁶ James Legge, 3.

¹⁷ Junggi Yu (ed.), *Sasu Samkyung [The Four Books and the Three Classics]* (Seoul: Myungmoon-dang, 1994), 495.

2.1.1. Filial Piety as the Basic Virtue of Emperor

Emperors Yao (r. 2356-2255 BC) and Shun (r. 2256-2205 BC) stand out as the most important figures, as borne witness to by the weighty statement of the first prime minister of the Shang dynasty: "If I cannot make my sovereign like Yao or Shun, I shall feel a shame in my heart, as if I were beaten in the market place" (BH 4.8.3). A dialogue between Crown Prince Fang and his father King Wen (r. 1171-1122 BC), the father of the first king of the Chou dynasty, expresses a similar conclusion: "The Former Kings [Yao and Shun] diligently employed their illustrious virtue, and produced such attachment by their cherishing, that from all the states they brought [tribute] and came with brotherly affection from all quarters" (BH 5.12.2). In the Four Books the Masters often looked back to the golden ages of the sage-kings Yao and Shun, where government had been carried out by the virtuous kings.¹⁸

(1) The filial piety of Shun in this book is described as the basic virtue of the emperor. When Yao wanted to seek his successor he sought to choose a man of filial piety (BH 1.2-1.3). The son-and-heir, as the first candidate, is recommended as being intelligent, but the emperor rejects him and evaluates him as being insincere and contentious. The second candidate is put forward as being capable but he too is rejected, branded as a mere sycophant and bombast. The third candidate is proposed as being able to handle the problem of natural disasters, but the emperor responds by calling him foolish. Then the emperor himself appoints his close subject, the President of Four Mountains, as his successor to the throne, but the latter humbly refuses the emperor's offer, saying that he is not qualified enough in virtue for the throne. Up to this point the four candidates have each been recommended by one person and rejected. They are declared as having no virtue or as having morally flawed characters, marred by such qualities as insincerity, contentiousness, sycophancy and foolishness. But when Shun is considered, as the fifth candidate, all the court agree. The emperor responds in an affirmative way (cf. BH 1.2). Shun was appointed to office as his successor because

¹⁸ Yao and Shun were the most typical models for and influences on neo-Confucianism. They are mentioned fifteen times in *The Analects*; one time in *The Great Learning*; five times in *The Doctrine of the Mean* and one hundred and fourteen times in *The Book of Mencius*. Wen and Wu are mentioned three times in *The Analects of Confucius*; one time in *The Great Learning*; nine times in *The Doctrine of the Mean*; and thirteen times in *The Book of Mencius*. The Duke of Chou is mentioned one time in *The Analects of Confucius*; one time in *The Doctrine of the Mean*; and three times in *The Book of Mencius*. In total, Yao and Shun are mentioned one hundred and forty times, Wen and Wu twenty-six times and the Duke of Chou five times.

of his filial piety (BH 1.3). The filial piety of Shun is originally the basis of the regulation of the family. Shun's family is depicted as an exceptionally bad case, but even so the filial piety of Shun towards his parents and his "brotherly respect" (*t'i*) towards his brother are described as the solution. Mencius acclaimed Shun for having succeeded to the throne as a result of his filial piety. For Mencius Shun was the symbol of the son of highest filial devotion (Men 5.a.4).

(2) The filial piety of Yao towards his father is not mentioned at all. But the ways he treated his family and Shun and he advocated filial piety as the quality of the emperor can suggest that he was a filial son (cf. Men 6.b.2). First, he regulated his family. That his sons and daughters as royal members worked in the farm by the will of his father in order to help Shun who was a farmer (Men 5.a.1) suggests that he was obedient to his father. Secondly, he did not choose his son to be his successor because of his lack of virtue. Yao's judgement of his son as being insincere and contentious implies that he is not a loyal son and not able to regulate his family, and thus he cannot rule the empire properly. Thirdly, he chose the man of filial piety to be a king and gave him his two daughters. It is Yao's ultimate test to ascertain whether Shun regulated his family properly in the relationship between man and wife, particularly where a husband and two wives live together (BH 2.1).

2.1.2. Filial Piety as the Centre of the Five Relationships

The social structure of ancient China was divided into Five Relationships and these relationships were the moral mandates of maintaining the empire. Shun was the first ruler who initiated and enforced the Five Relationships as a means of controlling the empire, and this became a paradigm of government policy throughout the three dynasties (BH 2.1; 2.15; 2.2.2; 2.3.3; 4.4.3; 5.9.3). Of the Five Relationships, filial piety in the relationship between a father and a son is the basis of the other relationships. The Five Relationships are as follows. (i) The relationship between a father and a son is viewed as continuing even when the father is dead, this being extended to the ancestors. The king customarily goes to the temple for ancestral sacrificial services on very important occasions, such as appointments to office or royal inaugurations, as well as at the usual run of assemblies (BH 2.1.2; 2.2.3; 2.1.4; 2.1.5; 2.2.3; 4.4.1; 4.4.2; 4.5.3; 4.7.2; 5.1.1; 5.3.1). (ii) The relationship between the king and his subjects is viewed in this book as the most important. Almost eighty percent of the

book consists of dialogues between the sovereign and his subjects and as we mentioned earlier, these deal with the promotion and practice of loyalty towards kings. The subject must, however, be a man of filial piety at home before he is appointed to government responsibilities: "The king speaks to the following effect. Kun-k'an, it is you who are possessed of excellent virtue, filial piety and brotherly respect. You can display these qualities in the exercise of government. I appoint you to rule this eastern border" (BH 5.20). (iii) The good relationship between elder brother and younger brother in the royal family during the reigns of Yao and Shun are mentioned in terms of the sharing of political power (BH 1.2; 1.3), which became a pattern in subsequent ages (BH 3.31; 5.12.2). (iv) The relationship between husband and wife is mentioned only twice in the book (BH 1.3; 4.22). The wives of Shun and the wife of King Chow are contrasted in a way that depicts the former as assisting her husband as a good ruler and founder of an era, and her husband's family as a happy family, and the latter as having played a decisive role in the ruin of the family and society, and of the Shang state. (v) The relationship between friends is not clearly mentioned in this book, but Mencius advocates that Shun established the Five Relationships (cf. Men 5.b.3).

2.1.3. Filial Piety as a Primary Policy of Kings

Kings listen only to the virtuous, speak about and deal with socio-political matters in terms of virtue (BH 5.13.5). Recorded speeches and the statements of the king or emperor almost always involve the matter of building up governmental virtue. This virtue is often filial piety or centres on filial piety.

(1) Shun orders the Minister of Instruction to maintain the Five Human Relationships with gentleness. The Minister of Crime is to deal virtuously with criminals; the Minister of Works is to foster harmony throughout his ministry; the Minister of Forests is to manage the forests harmoniously; the Minister of Religion is to observe morning and evening sacrifices in the ancestral temple reverently; the Director of Music is to teach the people to have a virtuous attitude; finally the Minister of Communications is to prohibit slanderous speakers and destroyers of right ways (BH 2.1.5).

(2) King P'an-keng deals with the matter of transferring his capital to another location with virtue and not with force. He praises his people's support for building the

new capital (BH 4.7). The advice of his ministers for the king is full of instructions of virtue for the king and the king responds humbly (4.8; 4.9).

(3) King Wu talks about the great model for government of the nation; the method of virtue by which the people may be rendered happy and tranquil, in harmony with their condition, providing an example of the perfect character of the king, and his perfect administration of government (BH 5.4). The king also speaks of the responsibility lying on him to maintain the kingdom gained by the virtues and prowess of his father, and of the senseless movements of the House of Shang to regain its supremacy (5.7).

(4) King K'ang celebrates the two previous kings, Wen and Wu, who set an example to his descendants. He tells his heir, Feng, how he should make his virtue shiningly manifest, as the basis of his good government of the people, and how he should be careful in the use of punishments. He insists that government of virtue should be superior to punishment, and that punishments should be regulated by the ruler's virtue (BH 5.9). The king speaks of how drunkenness had proved the ruin of the Shang dynasty, and how the people of Chou and Fang in Wei should learn their lessons from this (5.10); the king points out Feng's duty to promote good understanding among the different classes in his state, and between the king and the people, in order that his rule may be benign, and gives examples of ancient kings of virtue (5.11). The king reminds Hu's son of his father's unfaithful deeds and asks him to follow the path of virtue (5.17). The king admonishes Kun-k'an, illustrating his advice with the lessons of the Duke of Chou, which advocate a virtuous government and a transformation of the people of Shang, and requires him to give full attention to these lessons (5.21). The king speaks to K'un-ya about the virtues of former kings, and orders him to keep to the virtue of the Five Relationships (5.25).

(5) King Mu describes himself as being short of virtue, and appoints Ch'iung to be the High Commissioner to promote the virtue of former kings and supplement the king's deficiency of virtue (BH 5.26). The king deals with punishment in terms of virtue (5.27). He begins by celebrating the virtues and happy time of kings Wen and Wu and the service rendered by the worthy ministers of subsequent reigns. He contrasts this with the misery and distraction of his own time, deploring his want of wise counsellors and helpers, but he is not contrasting the happy times of kings Wen and Wu with praising the marquis for the service which he had rendered. He then concludes that

he will reward the prince's merit in the past, and stimulates him to greater exertions in the future (5.29).

2.1.4. Filial Piety as a Primary Issue of the Rulers

(1) Filial piety is a main issue of the dukes' advice for the king. The Duke of Shao urges the king to cultivate the virtue of reverence in order to secure the country's permanence, and urges that he should not neglect his aged and experienced ministers; the duke gives expression to his loyal and personally affectionate feelings for the king (BH 5.12). The Duke of Chou urges the king to employ the ceremonies of the Yin and hold a sacrifice in the new capital city, with the participation of all the government officers, and to cultivate the virtue of reverence, so the king responds to this advice (5.13). The Duke of Chou also suggests that the king should keep a rule for himself and follow the example of King Wen and the ancient kings (5.15).

(2) Filial piety is regarded as a quality and a duty of a king's ministers. The king's ministers are selected by their possession of virtue, and their quality maintained by the training of their virtue (BH 2.1.5). They refer to the king's virtue "Your virtue, Oh king, is vast and incessant" (2.2.1) and "Your virtue is faultless" (2.2.2), rather than to himself as "Your Majesty". Kao-yao, Minister of Crime, mentions the king's virtue as a duty (2.3). Minister Yi Yin instructs the young crown prince to celebrate the virtues of T'ang and his government, and warns him lest he neglects his filial duty (4.4-6). However, the principal ministers of the Board of Astronomy, Hsi and Ho, are, in the speech of King Kung K'ang, considered as neglecting their virtue and their duties, and thus as deserving to be sentenced to death (4.2).

2.1.5. Filial Piety: the Key Factor of the Rise of a State

It is very interesting to note that the transition from each era to the next always involved the issue of "virtue" or "no virtue". This implies that the reign or dynasty was founded on virtue, and that "no virtue" eventually destroyed the reign or dynasty. The virtue of the king is the key factor deciding the rise or fall of a state (BH 5.30). The author condemns Chow, the last king of Shang, as a tyrant of "no virtue", and his government as "weeds among the springing corn" (4.1; 4.3.2), and accuses him of many crimes in a long list of his instances of "lack of virtue" (5.1-3). This lack was the cause of the ruin of the Shang dynasty, and of the rise of the new dynasty, the Chou. King

Wen, father of the founder king of the Chou, is described as a paragon of virtue, and his virtue as that which enabled the Chou dynasty to be established. The rise and fall of states is always associated with the Mandate of Heaven, since, it is held, Heaven blesses the good and makes the bad miserable (4.3.2; cf. 4.3.3). Thus the former kings diligently employed their virtue, and the kings of each era should take a lesson from them in this respect (5.12).

The following passage further treats the question of whether the rise and fall of a state is at the mercy of filial piety and filial impiety, presenting the negative side:

Now Chow, the king of Shang, follows only the words of his wife. In his blindness he has neglected the sacrifices which he ought to offer, and makes no response; he has also cast off his paternal and maternal relations, not treating them properly. They are only vagabonds from all quarters, loaded with crimes, whom he honours and exalts, whom he employs and trusts, making them great officers and high nobles, so that they can tyrannise over the people, and do violence in the cities of Shang. Now I, Fa, am simply executing respectfully the punishment appointed by Heaven (BH 5.5.2).

This passage depicts how the unfaithful deeds of King Chow destroy the family, society and country. Because of his insincere wife the king does not respect his parents. Thus society becomes disorderly and corrupt, indicating that the Five Relationships have broken down. The case of King Chow is exactly opposite to that of Shun: Shun was a loyal son but Chow was not; Shun became the emperor because of his filial piety, but Chow was dethroned because of his filial impiety towards his parents; Shun established the Five Relationships and thus the state was well established, but Chow destroyed the Five Relationships and thus ruined the country. This all signifies that one king can play a very important role in either the rise or the fall of a state. The very end of the book states as the concluding remark: "The decline and fall of a state may arise from one man. The glory and tranquillity of a state may also arise from one man" (BH 5.30). Here one man means the one king who respects or disrespects one's parents. The message is that the king must be the son of filial piety basically in the family, and then he can rule the country properly and prosperously.

2.2. *The Book of Odes*

The Book of Odes (*Shih-ching*) is one of the oldest Chinese literary documents, and occupies a very important place among the Confucian Classics.¹⁹ James Legge asserts that the extant *Book of Odes* was compiled from collections already existing during the reigns of the early kings of the Chou before Confucius. D. C. Lau also denies Confucius' editorship of the whole book and doubts if the editing of the two (*ya* and *sung*) traditions may be ascribed to Confucius (cf. Ana 9.15).²⁰ However, it has been said that there were originally more than three thousand poems existing at the time of the compilation of this book, but that Confucius cut the volume down to three hundred and five pieces. Wing-tsit Chan maintains that the two (*ya* and *sung*) traditions were known to him, since Confucius certainly had a full knowledge of all the poems in the extant version.²¹

The book is divided into four sections, known as the *feng* (winds = customs), the *hsiao ya* (minor odes), the *ta ya* (major odes) and the *sung* (sacrificial odes). Three hundred and five poems were in circulation during the Chou dynasty (1122-221 BC), the last five of which may have originated from the Shang dynasty (1766-1123 BC).

2.2.1. Winds (Odes 1-160)

One hundred and sixty poems in the *feng* section reflect largely the life of the common people of the day. Many of these poems praise the *chün-tzu* (a ruler or son of a ruler), and depict various aspects of the common people's life.

(1) The term *chün-tzu*, mentioned fifty-two times in the first *feng* section, is usually used to designate good rulers of the people, because it accompanies positive expressions. The frequently repeated expressions ("a delightful *chün-tzu*", "a valiant *chün-tzu*", "a fine *chün-tzu*", "a yearning *chün-tzu*", "a diligent *chün-tzu*", "a virtuous *chün-tzu*" and "a benevolent *chün-tzu*") indicate that the people seem to have been

¹⁹ The Four Books quote sixty-four times from *The Book of Odes*: eight times in *The Analects*, eleven times in *The Great Learning*, fourteen times in *The Doctrine of the Mean*, and thirty-one times in *The Book of Mencius*. *The Book of Filial Piety* has fifteen quotations from *The Book of Odes*. By contrast, *The Book of History* is mentioned three times in *The Analects*, twelve times in *The Book of Mencius* and once in *The Book of Filial Piety*.

²⁰ D. C. Lau, *The Analects* (London: Penguin Books, 1979), 179.

²¹ Wing-tsit Chan, "Chinese Religion: Religious and Philosophical Texts", 306.

satisfied under the benevolent government of *chün-tzu* particularly in the time of the early Chou dynasty.

The Duke of Chou (d. 1094 BC), especially, was known to the people as a hero of the land, as shown in the following lines: "He is a brave hero of the country. He advances with a long spear for the king" (Ode 62). The Duke of Chou, the son of the king, helped his father to conquer the Shang dynasty in the East.²²

The Duke of Chou conquered the East.
He regulated the four states [the Shang dynasty] in justice (Ode 157.1).

The Duke of Chou conquered the East.
He reformed the four states (Ode 157.2).

The Duke of Chou conquered the East.
He settled down the four states in peace (Ode 157.3).

He was praised by the common people as the obedient son who helped his father to achieve the formation of a new Chou dynasty. His obedience to his father in war and his glorification of the family name were regarded as expressions of filial piety towards his father. Moreover, he was admired as a ruler who took good care of the people: "His compassion for us people is very great" (Ode 157.1), "His compassion for us people is very admirable" (Ode 157.2) and "His compassion for us people is very excellent" (Ode 157.3). The people must have honoured the Duke of Chou as a benevolent *chün-tzu*. They must have been encouraged to follow his steps: loyal people to the king and obedient sons to their fathers.

(2) The common people of the Chou period practised filial responsibility. A son worried how his parents would be supported while he was away in war or forced labour:

Busy with public services afar
I cannot plant rice and millet.
Who will my parents have to rely on?...
How shall our parents be supplied with food?...
When shall our service be over ? (Ode 121)

²² James Legge, *The Chinese Classics: The She King* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1935), 239.

In this first section the people express how they honoured their king as their father (Odes 172, 191), praised the filial piety of the Duke of Chou and practised filial piety towards their parents.

2.2.2. Minor Odes (Odes 161-234)

Seventy-four poems in the second section were sung at the meetings of the feudal princes in the royal court or the royal ancestral temple. The majority of the poems show princes and royal families praising the *chün-tzu* in expressions similar to those used in the first section, ninety-six times in all. The *chün-tzu* is not always identified, but the majority of cases could be identified with King Wen. At the ancestral temple in the royal court, there were many sacrificial services. The royal ancestral worship had two aspects.

First, the sacrificial services were always intimately related to the filial duty. Filial devotion was the overwhelming element. In general the attendants prepared themselves by fasting, and various purifications were made by the king and the parties who were to assist in the performance. There was a great concourse of feudal princes and the representatives of former dynasties. Offering "sacrifice of filial piety" in the spirit of filial piety was made by "men of filial piety" to the royal ancestors in each of the four seasons. Seasonal sacrifices were vital filial deeds, since the dying-out of its sacrificial services was regarded as tantamount to the extinction of a state. The rites for deceased fathers were an important part of the service because they were associated with the obtaining of permanent blessings.²³

Secondly, the royal ancestor worship was designed to maintain the unity of the family connection. When the sacrifice was finished the king feasted his uncles and younger brothers or cousins in another room. The musicians, who had participated with instrument and voice during the worship and entertainment of the ancestors, followed the party to continue the festival. The guests ate and drank to their full, and finally all did obeisance while one of them declared the satisfaction of the spirits of the ancestors. During the party the king showed particular respect to his aged relatives and filled their cups again and again.²⁴

²³ James Legge, *Sacred Books of the East* vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1879), 300-301.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, 301.

2.2.3. Major Odes (Odes 235-265)

Thirty-one poems in the third section were sung at the royal court and in the presence of the king. The main theme of this section is the praise of King Wen, the initiator of the Chou cause and King Wu, the father of the actual founding king of the Chou dynasty. King Wen is mentioned twenty-five times, King Wu five times, and the *chün-tzu* twenty-five times. Most occurrences of the “gentle *chün-tzu*” appearing here could be identified as referring to King Wen, as in Minor Odes.

(1) The praise of King Wen constitutes several themes: acknowledgement of the Mandate of the Heaven, receiver of heavenly blessings, the source of blessings upon royal descendants, possession of great virtue, the son of filial piety and the equal position with heaven or Shang-ti. The *chün-tzu* is described as one who asks blessings from god, enjoys blessings, comforts god and has a son of filial piety, and one who loves and takes care of the people and is respected by them.

(2) King Wu’s filial piety is praised as making the throne secure for himself and his posterity. The following passage displays King Kang’s praise of his father Wu, which is a typical poem of his, along with that of his forefathers.

The three sovereigns [T’ai, Ch’i, Wen] were in heaven.
And the king [Wu] was their worthy successor in his capital.
He secured the confidence due to a king.
Ever thinking how to be filial,
His filial mind was the model.
His posterity, continuing to walk in the steps of their forefathers,
Will receive the blessing of Heaven (Ode 243).

The poem describes a petition of receiving “the blessing of Heaven” for the permanent continuity of the royal family (cf. Ode 248). Three generations of the Chou ruling family are mentioned as “sovereigns”, who were actually not when alive. But the Duke of Chou, the initial legislator of the dynasty, had carried out sacrificial services to “kings” Wen and Wu and had further bestowed the title of “king” on Wen’s father and grandfather in a sacrificial ceremony (cf. DM 18).

2.2.4. Sacrificial Odes [or Odes of the Temple and the Altar] (Odes 266-305)

Forty poems in the fourth section are all connected with the royal ancestor-worship: thirty-one belong mostly to King Wen and to his son and grandson, King Wu and King K'ang (Odes 266-296); four are of the rulers of Lu (Odes 297-300); and the last five poems are of the Shang dynasty (Odes 301-305).

It is worth pointing out that ancestor worship had become one aspect of the later concept of filial piety. The sacrificial service of King Wu for his deceased father King Wen was called "filial piety" (Ode 283) and King Wu described himself "a son of filial piety" (Ode 282) in this service. King K'ang asked in the royal ancestral rites "Let me be the son of filial piety" (Ode 286) to his deceased father King Wu. These three instances indicate that King Wu was the model son of filial piety who practised ancestor-worship to his father. In fact, three other kings also practised ancestor worship, although their practices are not called filial piety. There are mentions of King Wen's sacrificing to his father Ch'i, of King Wu's sacrificing to his father King Wen, and of King K'ang's sacrificing to his father King Wu (cf. Ode 270-283).

(1) The scene of ancestor-worship to King Wen is described as magnificent and large-scale: the princes are gathered to assist the king in the ceremony, and many officers take part in the libations, prayers, and other parts of the sacrificial service. A sacrifice of a ram and a bull is presented to heaven. The first ancestor of the Chou dynasty was highly respected and even accorded parity with Heaven (Ode 267). King Wu regarded that both his father King Wen and Heaven had been causes for the Chou's attainment of the sovereignty. King Wen's relationship with Heaven is associated with a sacrifice to him by the Duke of Chou, who at the sacrifice announced the realisation of complete peace throughout the kingdom (Ode 267). Royal ceremonies to Kings Wu and K'ang were performed less often and on a smaller scale than those to King Wen. The musical performances that were an important part of the rites to them still played a major role, while there seems to have been no music for the first ancestors (T'ai and Ch'i) of the Chou kingdom.

(2) Sacrificial odes for some marquis of Lu are cited as follows: celebrating the military power by illustrating the numbers and the quality of horses (Ode 297); expressing the good wishes by his ministers and officers (298); celebrating his virtue and his victory over the tribes of Hwae (299); and praising Duke Hee for his success of establishing the Lu dynasty (300).

(3) Of the sacrificial odes of the Shang (Odes 301-305), a sacrifice to King T'ang, the founder of the Shang dynasty, is described in the first and second of these poems. The sacrifices commenced with music, which played a major role in the ceremony followed by the offering of evenly blended soups, and finishing with an evocation of the ancestor's blessings (of longevity, prosperity and happiness) upon his descendants. The third poem depicts a sacrifice in the ancestral temple of the Shang, in honour of King Wu-ting (r. 1238-1180 BC), and the fourth depicts a wider scene of a sacrifice to express reverence to all the kings of the dynasty, along with the earlier lords and their famous ministers and advisors. The last poem refers to the building of the ancestral temple and to the enshrining of King Wu-ting's tablet in the temple, and declares that he will have his share in the seasonal sacrifices.

2.3. *The Analects of Confucius*

The Analects of Confucius is regarded as a most important work on the teachings of Confucius, being understood as a most authentic exposition of his ideas. The book consists of a discontinuous series of brief statements or dialogues, in which virtually all the basic Confucian themes are presented. It has generally been recognised that in *The Analects of Confucius* there are two main themes: *en* and the *chün-tzu*.²⁵ *En* appears one hundred and five times in forty-nine passages,²⁶ and the *chün-tzu* is mentioned one hundred and seven times in eighty-six passages.²⁷ Filial piety and its related terms (such as mourning, sacrifice, service to parents and matters concerning fathers) are mentioned seventy-eight times in sixty passages.²⁸ But filial piety, although it is mentioned less

²⁵ Simon Leys, *The Analects of Confucius* (London: W. W. Norton Co., 1997), xix; cf. John B. Khu, *The Analects* (Manila: Granhill Corporation, 1991), 13; also Junggi Yu, 46.

²⁶ *En* (Ana 1.2; 1.3; 1.6; 3.3; 4.1; 4.2; 4.3; 4.4; 4.5; 4.6; 4.7; 5.5; 5.8; 5.19; 6.7; 6.22; 6.23; 6.26; 6.30; 7.6; 7.14; 7.29; 7.33; 8.3; 8.7; 8.10; 9.1; 9.29; 12.1; 12.2; 12.3; 12.20; 12.22; 12.24; 13.12; 13.19; 13.27; 14.2; 14.5; 14.7; 14.17; 14.18; 14.30; 15.9; 15.10; 15.33; 15.35; 15.36; 17.1; 17.6; 17.8; 17.17; 17.21; 18.1; 19.6; 19.15; 20.1; 20.2)

²⁷ *Chün-tzu* (Ana 1.1; 1.2; 1.8; 1.14; 2.12; 2.13; 2.14; 3.7; 3.24; 4.5; 4.10; 4.11; 4.16; 4.24; 5.3; 5.16; 6.4; 6.13; 6.18; 6.26; 6.27; 7.25; 7.30; 7.32; 7.36; 8.2; 8.4; 8.6; 9.6; 9.14; 10.6; 11.1; 11.20; 11.25; 12.4; 12.5; 12.8; 12.16; 12.19; 12.24; 13.3; 13.23; 13.25; 13.26; 14.6; 14.7; 14.24; 14.28; 14.29; 14.30; 14.44; 15.2; 15.7; 15.18; 15.19; 15.20; 15.21; 15.22; 15.23; 15.32; 15.34; 15.37; 16.1; 16.6; 16.7; 16.8; 16.10; 16.13; 17.4; 17.7; 17.21; 17.23; 17.24; 18.7; 18.10; 19.3; 19.4; 19.7; 19.9; 19.10; 19.12; 19.20; 19.21; 19.25; 20.2; 20.3)

²⁸ Filial piety (Ana 1.2; 1.6; 1.7; 1.11; 2.5; 2.6; 2.7; 2.8; 4.18; 4.21; 8.2; 13.20; 19.18); mourning (Ana 3.4; 3.26; 7.9; 9.16; 14.40; 17.21; 19.1; 19.14; 20.1); sacrifice (Ana 2.5; 2.24; 3.1; 3.2; 3.10; 3.11; 3.12; 3.17; 4.20; 9.3; 9.16; 10.8; 10.13; 12.2; 13.4; 19.1; 20.1); parents (Ana 1.7; 2.16; 4.18; 4.21; 11.4; 11.9;

frequently than the other two themes, is, when we make a more detailed study of the words and ideas related to one another, the central theme of the book.

2.3.1. *En* and Filial Piety

It is very important to understand *en* in the relationship between *en* and filial piety. The two passages show their relationships:

Fan Chih asked about *en*. The Master said: "It is to love others" (Ana 12.22).
Filial piety and brotherly respect is the root of *en* (Ana 1.2).

Basically *en* means the manifestation of ideal human nature. Confucian ethics is concerned not so much with qualities of mind and heart as with activities, and not so much with man in isolation as with man relating to his fellow human-beings, but rather it is considered to be social virtues manifested in the conduct of human relationships (Ana 12.2, 24; 13.19). Similarly, Confucian concepts of virtue are not so concerned with metaphysical considerations, but rather are usually related to moral practices in human relationships (Ana 4.1; 5.5, 8, 19). In this regard *en* may be considered as a virtue of the way that a man should treat other human-beings in society. Although Confucius was concerned that a man should achieve individual perfection he regarded the achievement of that perfection as impossible in isolation from society. It needed to be manifested in one's treatment of others.

Who were these "others"? In *The Analects of Confucius* 1.5, the "others" include a ruler's subjects and indeed the common people. Confucius says that the ruler must organise his armed forces properly, observe his promises, show affection towards his subjects in general and use the labour of the peasantry only at the proper time of year. The ruler should not employ that labour when the common people ought to be working in the fields. The ruler should not utilise labour all the year round on ostentatious building schemes, and listen to music or go hunting when he ought to be attending to government business (Ana 16:6).

In addition, "others" can be one's friends or one's neighbours. They are also the objects of *en* (Ana 4.1; 12.24). "Do not do to others what you would not like yourself"

17.21; 18.2); father (Ana 1.11; 4.20; 9.16; 11.21; 11.23; 12.11; 12.12; 13.18; 13.1; 13.18; 13.1; 17.9; 19.18)

(Ana 12.2; cf. 15:24). This phrase exhorts oneself to show consideration for others by not doing to them what one would not like them to do to oneself. *The Analects of Confucius* has, however, a special term for the proper treatment of others, an ingredient of *en*, namely that of *shu*, which is sometimes translated as “reciprocity”. Both of these statements, in which Confucius gives a positive version of the virtue *en* and a negative expression of the virtue *shu*, suggests that one should maintain these virtues as a guide to the desires and needs of others, so that one can treat them with *en*. These virtues advocated by Confucius are deeply concerned with mutual benefit.²⁹

Although *en* is treated as a very important theme, filial piety is the central one in *The Analects of Confucius*. First, Confucius states that filial piety and brotherly respect are the root of *en* (Ana 1.2). He recognises that these virtues of filial piety and brotherly respect learned within the family affected others in society. This meant that the teaching of those virtues was fundamental in the training of the young, because correct behaviour beyond the confines of the family was but an extension of these virtues which Confucius calls the root of *en*. Among the three virtues, filial piety, brotherly respect and *en*, *The Analects of Confucius* clearly states that filial piety is the root of all: “The Master said, ‘Young people should observe filial piety at home; they should show brotherly respect in the community; they should love the people in a broader society’” (1.6). Without filial piety there is no brotherly respect, and without brotherly respect there is no love for the people. The love of people, arising from brotherly respect, is identical to the typical definition of *en*: “It is to love others” (12.22). The idea expressed as “All within the four seas are brothers” (12.5) indicates that the virtue of *en* was an extension to society from the virtue of brotherly respect, which comes from filial piety in the family.

Secondly, he suggested that filial piety and brotherly respect are the roots of *en* in his first lecture after mastering the antiquities and learning the human experience

²⁹ For the mutual benefit the practical elements of *en* are further introduced in *The Analects of Confucius*. The book explains five practical virtues as follows: (i) courtesy is described as one of the main characteristics of a ruler in his personal conduct (Ana 5.16; 7.37; 12.5; 13.19; 15.5; 16. 10; 19.25) and in public affairs (1.10); (ii) tolerance is also an aspect of a ruler’s qualities in his gaining of the support of his people (Ana 3.26; 17.6; 20.1); (iii) diligence is considered a characteristic of a ruler and a hallmark of success (Ana 1.14; 5.15; 7.11; 17.6; 20.1); (vi) generosity is associated with the care and direction of the people. The people want a ruler to be generous, and follow a generous ruler (Ana 4.11; 5.16; 14. 10; 17.6; 20.2); (v) sincerity is conducive to understanding among friends and plays a vital role in mobilising the labour power of the people (Ana 1.4, 2.22; 7.24; 12.6; 19.10).

(Ana 1.2). The book begins with the importance of learning, a subject to which Confucius wished his students to pay special attention, learning being something that he himself had accumulated by much intellectual effort, both from old traditions and from the vicissitudes of his own life (1.1). The statement "At fifteen I set my heart on learning" (2.4) points to his whole lifestyle of learning, and when he made no progress in public affairs or in gaining public recognition for his doctrines he devoted himself to learning in order to distribute what he had learned to others (7.2).³⁰ His statements about "learning", as found here and frequently elsewhere in this book, support the conclusion that the subject of its introductory passage was indeed of great importance to the teachings of Confucius.

Thirdly, Confucius is depicted as extremely reluctant to ascribe the perfect achievement of the virtue of *en* to any given individual: "I have never seen a man who loved *en*...I have never seen such a man" (Ana 4.6). Indeed he expresses doubt that anyone is capable of concentrating his whole effort on *en* for a single day even though, while pointing out the difficulties, he conceives of the possibility of a man's attaining of *en* (6.5; 7.29). There is, on the other hand, no mention in the book of his denying the existence of filial sons. Rather, Confucius urged his contemporaries to elevate the level of filial piety of the times from the mere provision of nourishment for one's parents to a level at which filial respect towards them would become the predominant consideration (2.7).

³⁰ Confucius learned from two main resources. (i) The first source that he learned was from antiquity (Ana 2.11). The reason why he studied such a source is that he lived in a time of social and political instability, resulting from the disintegration of feudal society which characterised the late Chou period, and thus concluded that the solution to the problems lay in a revival of the morality of ancient times. What was of supreme importance in Confucius' view was the investigation and transmission of the correct traditions concerning the golden age of remote antiquity (Ana 8.18-19; 8.20; 12.22; 15.5; 20.1). Another phase of antiquity, which Confucius particularly loved and wished to transmit to his own generation, was the period of the founding of the Chou dynasty, about five hundred years before his birth (Ana 8.20; 19.22). King Wen is mentioned only twice in *The Analects of Confucius* (9.5; 19.22), but it is clear that Confucius thought of him as an ideal ruler, one who, by his cultural and other achievements, laid the foundations for the conquest of the Shang dynasty that preceded the Chou. In addition, Confucius is thought to have had a special regard for the Duke of Chou (Ana 7.5; 11.16; 18.10), the brother of King Wu (Ana 8.20; 19.22). The major source was *The Book of Odes* (Ana 7.17; 8.8; 13.5; 16.13; 17.9), all of which he seems to have quick access (Ana 13.5). (ii) The second source he was keen to learn from was that of contemporary living people in general: "When I walk with two others, I always receive instruction from them. I select their good qualities and follow them, and avoid their bad qualities" (Ana 7.21). Since the object of learning was to learn how to behave, the constant learning to which he devoted his efforts was aimed at self-improvement, as the prerequisite for trying to achieve improvement in others. Since the object of education was the moral training of the young, self-improvement was viewed as obviously part of normal parental duty.

Fourthly, loyalty, an extension of filial piety, was considered to be very important to those engaged in public life (Ana 1.7). Loyalty, for the ministers, takes priority over benevolence because they are appointed by the king to administer his affairs. By loyalty Confucius meant serving with all one's heart. Confucius always stressed that loyalty to one's own principles is more important than loyalty to a human master. He recognised that wealth and rank are desirable but considered that they must be relinquished if they can only be retained by forsaking one's principles. He would not seek to escape from poverty by doing wrong (7.11). He roundly condemned his disciple, Jan Chiu, because Jan was prepared to prove his loyalty to the head of the Chi family by collecting unjust taxes for it (11.16). Probably one main reason why Confucius never attained to any considerable position of power or influence in political life was because he absolutely repudiated wealth and rank obtained by wrong means, and was prepared to find contentment, if necessary, in poverty (7.15).

2.3.2. *Chün-tzu* and Filial Piety

The moral teaching of Confucius is focused on his description of the paradigmatic moral figure, the *chün-tzu*. The word *chün-tzu*, normally translated as "superior man" or "gentleman", originally meant "a ruler or son of a ruler", as noted earlier, but the meaning was extended to include descendants of rulers as well as members of the upper class in general at the time of Confucius. The *chün-tzu* was an administrator, the word being used primarily in the class sense, although at the same time he would naturally be expected to follow a code of behaviour appropriate to his rank. So the *chün-tzu* implies both a man of superior social status or a man of superior moral accomplishments. However, Confucius asserted that the social status of a *chün-tzu* was not necessarily relevant, and that a man could become a *chün-tzu* without the benefit of birth into the upper classes (Ana 7.33; 20.3). Confucius hoped that men who lacked high birth but possessed the moral qualities required of a superior man could, by means of these qualities, achieve status and play their part in government (cf. 1.2; 17.8). Furthermore, Confucius taught a philosophy of government with men serving by their moral examples, rather than of government by laws and institutions framed and administered by men. The following passages explain the moral characteristics of a superior man:

The superior man understands what is right. The small man understands what is profitable (Ana 4.16). While the superior man cherishes virtue [*te*]; the small man cherishes possessions (Ana 4.11).

There is a sharp contrast drawn here between what is right and what is profitable. These two things are in sharp contrast to each other and are frequently mentioned in the book where it distinguishes between the true and false ruler. The way that Confucius uses the concept "right" (*yi*) seems to indicate that it implies a moral capacity inherent within human nature. Its chief characteristic is the ability to distinguish right from wrong and it is often used in a way that would suggest the term is equal to wisdom, a kind of inner judge of right and wrong. The contrast in the first two quotations above stresses that the small man (*hsiao-en*) is only concerned for material gain and lacks concern for the means that he uses to achieve his end. For the small man there is no consideration either of moral ends or of means. By contrast the *chün-tzu* sees ends and means as intimately linked, and each as thoroughly rooted in moral considerations. The ability to distinguish between moral virtue and material possession is necessary for an administrator in order for him to be able to develop his capacity of *te* and to reflect his true relation to the Way of Heaven, rather than pursue his own selfishness in personal aggrandisement by means of power and material possessions.

The passage below sets out for posterity the essence of the superior man's role. The reference to reverence can be understood if we recall Confucius' insistence that the rulers should behave in accordance with their etiquette when dealing with their ministers. But the main message lies in the next injunction.

Tzu-lu asked about the superior man. The Master said: "He cultivates himself in order to show reverence." "Is it all?" asked Tzu-lu. The Master said: "He cultivates himself so as to bring tranquillity to others...to all people (Ana 14.45).

The *chün-tzu* cultivates his moral personality and practises self-cultivation in order to bring tranquillity to all men. For *The Analects of Confucius* and even more especially for *The Great Learning*, self-cultivation and the regulation of the family were very important aspects of the gentleman's task. It was unfortunate that Confucius himself could not find the opportunity for government service to match his superior attainments in self-cultivation. He had to content himself with continuing the process of his self-

cultivation, while at the same time proclaiming his message about the kind of society in which his ideal gentleman would practise self-cultivation.

Having discussed the meaning of the term *chün-tzu* and its associated moral qualities, we must ask how this concept relates to filial piety. The following passage indicates clearly their relationships.

A *chün-tzu* works at the **root**. Once the **root** is secured, the Way unfolds. Filial piety and brotherly respect are the **root** of *en* (Ana 1.2).

The word "root" obviously, as explicitly stated above, means filial piety and brotherly respect. The root is something from which other things grow or, metaphorically, the foundation upon which something can be built. Without the foundation nothing can be established. Thus, a superior man must be a man of filial piety and brotherly respect before he can achieve other kinds of goodness. Here filial piety is priority over brotherly respect.

2.4. *The Great Learning*

The Great Learning,³¹ traditionally ascribed to Tseng-tzu (505-436 BC), one of Confucius' disciples, was probably written by some unknown Confucian scholar.³² The author was typically Confucian because he based his teaching on the conviction that men can be appealed to by reason, and that they can be moved by the force of example, and bettered by education. He believed that it is possible to persuade those who possess power and authority to exercise virtue and seek righteousness, and above all to consider as of paramount importance the welfare of their people. Certainly, he composed the book in order to encourage them to become model rulers.³³

³¹ "Great Learning" had three meanings: the first one was as the name of the state college designed exclusively for the education of the children of the king and the aristocratic classes. The second one referred to the content of the education for the Great Man (the king), which included the profound principles for virtuous royal government. The third one was as the name of the book for that education. Cf. Ki-keun Chang, *Dodeuk Yoonli Hyodoui Wonli wa Silchun* [*Principle and Practice of Moral and Ethical Filial Piety*] (Seoul: Jooryoo-ilyum, 1996), 185-86.

³² Sungkyunkwan University, 30-31.

³³ Cf. Jang-tae Keum, *Yuhak Sasang Ihae* [*Understanding of Confucian Ideas*], (Seoul: Jipmoon-dang, 1996), 42-43.

The book, which consists of an introduction and a commentary on the introduction, explain mainly: the manifestation of one's moral character (GL 1), new people (2), rest in the highest goodness (3), the investigation of things (4), the extension of knowledge (5), the formation of a sincere will (6), the rectification of one's mind and the cultivation of one's personality (7), the cultivation of one's personality and the regulation of one's family (8), the regulation of one's family and the achievement of national order (9) and world peace (10). These themes are all connected to one another and the purpose of the book is for world peace.

2.4.1. The Cultivation of One's Personality and the Regulation of One's Family

Which is the central theme? Is it the cultivation of one's personality or the regulation of one's family? Ki-keun Chang asserts that the cultivation of one's personality is the central theme of *The Great Learning*. He so argues because the cultivation of one's personality is the result of the first seven elements (the manifestation of one's moral character, new people, rest in the highest goodness, the investigation of things, the extension of knowledge, the formation of a sincere will and the rectification of one's mind) and preparations for the last three elements (the regulation of the family, the achievement of national order and world peace).³⁴ However, the book focuses on the regulation of one's family.

First, the regulation of one's family can be the result of the first eight aspects, including the cultivation of one's personality, and preparations for the achieving of national order and world peace. In the book the cultivation of one's personality is more closely related to the regulation of one's family than the rectification of one's mind, and in fact the two themes (the cultivation of one's personality and the regulation of one's family) are a pair in section 8.

Secondly, section 8 shows the definition of the relationship between the two. The cultivation of one's personality resulted in the acquiring of self-discipline by the first seven elements and it can be realised in the regulation of the family. The family is the original sphere in which morally cultivated persons can practise what they have learned.

³⁴ Ki-keun Chang, 209-211.

Thirdly, the theme of the regulation of the family is mentioned as many as forty-two times, while the cultivation of one's personality is mentioned eight times. The author praises the filial piety of King Wen, which came out of the cultivation of his personality (GL 3). The moral duty in the relationship between father and son is described as the son being duty-bound to serve his father and the father to love his son.

2.4.2. The Regulation of One's Family and Filial piety

The regulation of the family has something to do with the relations between parents and children and between brothers. For the regulation of the family, filial piety must be a starting point. Filial piety and love are the virtues of a son and a father respectively. This dual duty is also importantly the moral obligation of one man when he has both his father and son alive and thus plays a twofold role, doing filial deeds to his father, and giving his son fatherly love. In this book King Wen is described as a perfect model who regulated his family by filial piety. When he acts with filial piety to his father, he also gives his love to his son and receives filial piety from his son (GL 3).

2.4.3. The Achievement of National Order and Filial Piety

Section nine emphasises the significance of filial piety in relation to the achievement of national order.

What is meant by saying that in order to govern the state it is necessary first to regulate the family is this: there is no one who cannot teach his own family and yet can teach others. Filial piety is that with which one serves his ruler. Brotherly respect is that with which one serves his elders and superiors, and deep love is that with which one treats the multitude (GL 9).

This passage indicates how virtues such as filial piety, brotherly respect and deep love shown in the family extend to the state outside of the family. Filial piety from son to father, deep love from father to son and brotherly respect from younger brother to elder brother do not stay confined within the home, but are transferred to others in the wider society, finding expression in different ways. That is to say, a man of filial piety can be a man of loyalty to his ruler, a man of brotherly respect can be a man of reverence and faithfulness to others and older men in society, and a man of deep love can be a man of benevolence to the people (cf. GL 3). These three virtues, which are the basis for regulating the family, provide the principles for governing well the state. It is certain that, among the three, filial piety is the greatest in importance.

2.4.4. World Peace and Filial Piety

The final section highlights the importance of filial piety for world peace, the attainment of which is the ultimate purpose of the book.

What is meant by saying that peace of the world depends on the order of the state is this: when the ruler treats the aged with respect, then the people will be aroused toward filial piety. When the ruler treats the elders with respect, then the people will be aroused toward brotherly respect... Therefore the ruler will be watchful over his own virtue. If he has virtue he will have the people with him (GL 10).

The passage above shows exactly how the ruler's virtue within his family affects the people he rules over: his filial piety to his old father is extended to those of his people who are old. The people influenced by his filial piety respond with filial piety towards their own fathers, and the people moved by his brotherly respect to the elders return brotherly respect to their own brothers. The practice and promotion of these two pivotal virtues constitute all the proper activities of Confucian government and society: the king is regarded as a parent of the people (GL 10; cf. Ode 172, 191) and the people are ideally all brothers (cf. Ana 12.5).

2.5. *The Doctrine of the Mean*

The Chinese title of the book is *Chung-yung*, made up of two words, *chung*, meaning "centrality", and *yung*, meaning "normality". The compound word *chung-yung* can be translated as "the Mean", and also as "moderation" or "moral order". According to Chu Hsi it means "neither one-sided nor extreme but the ordinary principle of the Mean" (cf. DM 1). Both moderation and moral principle are implied by the term *chung-yung*. The main contents of *The Doctrine of the Mean* are varied: the Way of the *chün-tzu* (1, 11-15, 33), sincerity (16, 20-26, 32), the Mandate of Heaven (17, 26, 29), the Way of the sage (17-20, 27-32) and filial piety (13, 17-20, 25). The first four main topics are closely related to the concept of filial piety.

2.5.1. The Way of the *Chün-tzu* and Filial Piety

The Way of the superior man is identified as corresponding to a set of universal principles which function everywhere between man and woman and between Heaven and Earth (DM 12). But it should start from its proper beginning:

The Way of the superior man may be compared to travelling to a **distant place**: one must start **from the nearest point**. It may be compared to ascending to a **height**: one must start **from below** (DM 15a).

The Way is allegorised as the road along which the superior man should walk to his destination. The expressions “from the nearest point” and “from below”, which are actually the same in meaning, are used to indicate that one should start to walk from the real beginning. The meaning of “a distant place” and “a height” is certainly the goal of “the world’s being in order and at peace” (DM 33), which is the ultimate purpose of the Confucian Classics in general and of this book in particular. To achieve it, it is necessary to start “from the nearest point” or “from below”.

The meaning of these similar expressions is readily discovered when we examine the following passage:

He who knows what is distant begins with **what is near**.
He knows where **the winds [moral influence] come from**.
Such a man can enter into virtue (DM 33).

The Way of the superior man, with its moral responsibilities, is advocated as extending out from its initial practice in the family to other people in general. The passage urges one to develop the qualities of a moral exemplar in order to gain a position in government service. First, it says, one must morally cultivate one’s personality. Secondly, one must gain insight in order that one be able to lead the people under one’s administration. Thirdly, one’s deportment as an administrator must be reliable. Fourthly, one must be altruistic. Fifthly, by one’s virtues (i.e., those of faithfulness and reverence), which subjects should also possess in their behaviour towards their rulers, the world will be rendered orderly and peaceful. Sixthly, the quality of one’s service of the people must be genuine and not a pretence, that is, not just deceitful noises and facades (DM 33).

What is the meaning of “from the nearest point”, “from below” (DM 15a) and “what is near”, “where the winds come from” (DM 33) in the two above passages? The answer is found in the immediate passage of DM 15a, which pictures a happy family, where the wife and children are in harmony, as are the brothers, and where the father as head of the family cares for his wife and children.

Happy union with wife and children is like the music of lutes and harps. When brothers live in concord and at peace, the harmony is sweet and delightful. Let your family live in concord, enjoy your wife and children. The Master said, "How happy will parents be!" (DM 15b).

In fact the Master is of the view that the Way of the gentleman, with its great socio-political aspirations, must start from the ideal family unit, where the parents and their children, and elder brothers and younger brothers, keep to their proper status and duties.

The following passage specifies human relationships not only in the family but also in society, the relationships which the Master humbly claims to have tried, but failed, to fulfil.

There are four things in the Way of the gentleman, none of which I have been able to do: to serve my father as I would expect my son to serve me; to serve my ruler as I would expect my minister to serve me; to serve my elder brothers as I would expect my younger brothers to serve me; to be the first to treat friends as I would expect them to treat me (DM 13).

The moral responsibilities involved in the four relationships are pointed out, two of the relationships being ones within the family and the other two ones within society. The characteristic of these relationships is two-directional, not one-sided. Among them, the relationship of a father and a son in the family has priority, with filial piety emphasised. This priority is understandable because of the patriarchal nature of society of those times. There is no mention of the relationship between man and wife in the four relationships mentioned in this passage (DM 13), but in DM 20 there is just a statement of the better known Confucian Five Relationships, with no accompanying definition of the duties of each relationship.

2.5.2. Sincerity and Filial Piety

The character for the Chinese word for "sincerity" is made up of two components, one meaning "speech" and the other "completion". Etymologically it means the completion of speech, i.e., actions and words corresponding to each other. What then does sincerity signify in *The Doctrine of the Mean*? It generally means "the completion of the self" (DM 25) attained by a knowledge of goodness (DM 20.17) and the Way of Heaven and men (DM 20.18). A man of sincerity knows what is good and right and is able to fully develop his intrinsic nature and others' intrinsic natures, thus being able also to transform others morally. He can even order and adjust the major relations of mankind and establish the major moral foundations of humanity (DM

20.17-18; 22, 23, 32). "The completion of the self" corresponds to the stage of "the cultivation of one's personality" as a preparation for the service of parents in *The Great Learning*. The concept of sincerity seems to be more elaborate here than in *The Great Learning*, where it is mentioned only three times as the term "sincere thought" (GL 5; 6.4). However, in relation to filial piety, sincerity is, in the two books alike, a prerequisite virtue and necessary preparation for serving one's parents. *The Doctrine of the Mean* reads as follows: "There is a way to obey one's parents: if one examines himself and finds himself to be insincere, he will not be obedient to his parents" (DM 20.17). Sincerity is one of the Five Virtues, as we have noted, on which filial piety is rooted (BFP 1).

2.5.3. The Mandate of Heaven and Filial Piety

The concept of Heaven's ordainment or the Mandate of Heaven (*t'ien-ming*) is closely related to filial piety. The following passage explains that a man of filial piety will receive the Mandate of Heaven:

The Book of Odes says, "The admirable, amiable *chün-tzu* displayed conspicuously his excellent virtue. He put his people and his office in concord. And he received his emolument from Heaven. It protected him, assisted him and appointed him king. And Heaven's blessing came again and again. Therefore he who possesses great virtue will surely receive the appointment of Heaven (DM 17.4).

The lines and poems of *The Book of Odes* quoted here and elsewhere always provide authority of source, an authentic reference or declaration of didactic purpose to support any statement or argument. In the case of the above passage its quotation provides all three, emphasising the importance of filial piety by bringing in the Mandate of Heaven. Here "excellent virtue" and "great virtue" are identified with filial piety, and "emolument from Heaven" and "the appointment of Heaven" are tantamount to the Mandate of Heaven.

It is certain that the *chün-tzu* referred to here is Shun. The virtue of Shun is characterised as filial piety (cf. BH 1.2-1.3). His filial piety, which was hidden within his family-life, is made a public virtue, since he is then able properly to direct the affairs of government. This filial piety is later associated with the Mandate of Heaven and leads to the very acquisition of the throne. The Mandate of Heaven was conceived of as essential to the making of a king (DM 18:3; GL 1), and filial piety also as essential to

the attainment of kingship. This concept of filial piety seems at the time of the composition of *The Doctrine of the Mean* to have been so popular in this connection that a large portion of the book is allotted to the describing of ancestor worship in particular (DM 17-19,27). The concept of filial piety chimes with that of the Mandate of Heaven (DM 26; Ode 267; GL 10), the carrying out of the Mandate of Heaven depending on the accomplishment of filial deeds.

2.5.4. The Sage: A Man of Filial Piety

Is what is known in Confucianism as the Sage (*sheng-jen, sheng*) a man of filial piety? The term Sages, according to the author of *The Doctrine of the Mean*, indicate the ancient emperors such as Yao and Shun, kings Wen and Wu and the Duke of Chou. All except Yao are said to have been men of filial piety (DM 17, 18, 19, 30). Regarding Shun, the author calls him a man of great filial piety and describes the five rewards due to his filial piety in terms of personal advantages: position (that of emperor, i.e. overall ruler of China), wealth, fame, long life and the ancestral temple sacrifices thereafter made to him. The author states that King Wen also served his father by carrying on his father's work towards the founding of the Chou dynasty, and by this filial conduct King Wu came to acquire five things: the world, reputation throughout the world, empire, position (that of Son of Heaven, i.e. overall ruler) and wealth. The Duke of Chou is also shown in the book as having furthered the work of his father, King Wen, and his brother, King Wu, and to have sacrificed to his forefathers with imperial rites, which were extended to the feudal lords, great officers, officers and common people.

2.6. *The Book of Mencius*

Mencius (372-288 BC) studied under the disciples of the great Tzu-ssu (492-431 BC), grandson of Confucius, and his stature as an interpreter of Confucius grew with the progress of time until, by the Sung dynasty, he was accepted as a Confucian authority second only to Confucius himself. The book which bears his name was compiled by his disciples after his death.³⁵ This book is larger than the other three of the Four Books combined. Regarding the central theme of this book there have been two opinions: the first asserts that Mencius viewed *en* (benevolence) and *i* (righteousness) as the central and most important aspects;³⁶ and the second contends that the Way of Yao and Shun is central.³⁷

2.6.1. Benevolence-Righteousness and Filial Piety

Mencius stressed the significance of benevolence-righteousness in relation to the questions of human nature versus animals. What differentiates a human-being from the animals? According to Mencius little distinguishes men from animals. Man is possessed of an intrinsic animal nature, having the senses of seeing, hearing and so on, but also has intelligence, a mind which can think and reason, and a capacity to know what is just and right. What is different, he asserts, is that the wise and noble devote time to developing it. Inferior people, on the other hand, expend most of their efforts in cultivating those parts of their nature which they share with animals, and neglect the cultivation of what is particularly human (Men 3.b.9). What then makes man characteristically human? Using a number of illustrations and examples Mencius remarks that a man ought to be benevolent, and that he ought to act towards others in human relationships with righteousness (4.b.28).

Mencius also asserted that socio-political lessons be drawn from his fundamental teachings about benevolence-righteousness. For the ruler who possesses this quality and behaves in this way the goal of true kingship, according to him, is not

³⁵ H. G. Creel, *Chinese Thought from Confucius to Mao Tse-tung* (London: Eyre & Spottiswoode, 1954), 84.

³⁶ D. C. Lau (trans.), *Mencius* (London: Penguin Books, 1970), 12; W. T. de Bary (ed.), *Sources of Chinese Tradition* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1960), 86; D. Howard Smith, 97-98.

³⁷ In-soo Son, *Hankookinui Hyodo Moonwha [Korean Culture of Filial Piety]* (Seoul: Moon Eun Sa, 1997), 14; Jang-tae Keum, 138; Sungkyunkwan University, 12.

impossible (Men 2.a.1). This goal of true kingship is none other than that of the attainment of the prosperity of his state in China, the perpetuation of his line and the allegiance of all men (4.a.33). Some administrators of the time seem to have regarded him as an impractical idealist, whose moral teaching would prove impossible to apply in a disturbed and warlike age. But Mencius' basic socio-political idea is that all government can be established for the benefit of the people. People are Heaven's concern. Hence the only legitimate ruler is he who governs by moral force, which is engendered by his benevolence and righteousness. People will be so delighted to live under a benevolent and righteous ruler that they will all wish to co-operate with him in every way possible, and in this way the country will be enriched. Mencius envisages a utopian society which comes into existence and flourishes as a result of benevolent-righteous government, a ruler who relies on military force being held unfit to rule (Men 1.a.3). Consequently Mencius condemns the rule of the tyrant. Heaven sends down repeated warnings, which are revealed in the discontent of the people and in economic disaster. If these warnings go unheeded by the ruler, then Heaven transfers its mandate from the ruler to another, who has not only the right to rebel but the duty to do so in obedience to the Mandate of Heaven. Mencius showed both his independence of thinking and his courage in outlining such a doctrine at a time when rulers exercised autocratic control and absolute power over the lives of their subjects.

Mencius' main argument on the issue of benevolence-righteousness, however, draws from its original source, which is the family. Historically, before he made his long journeys, challenging many rulers and disciples with his ideas, he composed a definition of benevolence-righteousness in relation to filial piety and brotherly respect. *The Book of Mencius* begins as follows:

There never has been a man trained to benevolence who neglected his parents.
There never has been a man trained to righteousness who neglected his sovereign (Men 1.a.1).

The content of benevolence is the service of one's parents; the content of righteousness is the obedience to elder brother (Men 4.a.27). Filial affection for parents is the working of benevolence; respect for elders is the working of righteousness (Men 7.a.15).

For Mencius benevolence and righteousness originated from the virtues of filial piety and brotherly respect, and these virtues were to be extended to being loyal to one's sovereign and to loving the people under one's administration. Benevolence is

associated with his treatment of the people, and righteousness is associated with the ruler's moral judgement (Men 7.a.24; 2.a.1). Here filial piety is priority because filial piety is much more important than brotherly respect in terms of the perspective of Confucianism in general and the book in particular.

2.6.2. The Way of Yao and Shun and Filial Piety

Korean scholars unanimously agree that it was important for Mencius to find a historical precedent representing his ideal morality. Mencius found such morality in "the Way of Yao and Shun".³⁸ Mencius idealised the reign of these two kings and believed that the reapplication of similarly virtuous government would solve the problems of his time. Mencius seeks to share his conviction that Yao and Shun must be the pattern for both family-life and the conduct of state affairs.

(1) What is the Way of Yao and Shun? Mencius answers this question in a simple manner: "The Way of Yao and Shun was simply that of filial piety and brotherly respect" (Men 6.b.2). The Way that Yao treated Shun is viewed by Mencius as a model of both a father-son relation and a friendship. Even though Shun was at the time of their first friendship still an unrelated commoner, he was treated as Yao's son.

Shun went to see the Emperor, who placed his son-in-law [Shun] in a separate mansion. He entertained Shun but also allowed himself to be entertained in return. This is an example of an Emperor making friends with a common man (Men 5.b.3).

This passage conveys Yao's trust in Shun and in Shun's future kingship. More strikingly, Yao so regulated his own family and his state: his nine sons, two daughters and high officers obeyed him so far as to serve an ordinary man, showing no challenge or disobedience to Yao's order. The book says that "The Emperor sent his nine sons and two daughters together with a hundred officials, taking with them the full quota of cattle and sheep and provisions, to serve Shun in the field" (Men 5.a.1). The Way of Yao and Shun suggests that the love of a father to his son (or son-in-law) and the filial piety of a son to his father is the foundation maintaining the family and the state in order and peace.

³⁸ In-soo Son, 14; Sungkyunkwan University, 12.

(2) The Way of Shun is more described in this book. We need to know who was Shun. Mencius says that Shun was an eastern barbarian who was born in Chu-feng, moved to Fu-hsia and died in Ming-tiao (Men 4.b.1). He was a farmer (6.b.15), a fisherman and a potter (2.a.8). His greatness came, however, from his regulation of his family by the principles of filial piety and brotherly respect. Shun's father, a blind man, was most perverse, his mother was foolish, and his younger brother, Hsiang, took after his father. Even after Shun married the daughters of the emperor, his father the blind man and his brother Hsiang were constantly trying to take his life:

Shun's parents sent him to repair the barn. Then they removed the ladder and the blind man set fire to the barn. They sent Shun to dredge the well, and then set out after him and blocked up the well over him (Men 5.a.2).

But Shun escaped by the skin of his teeth, on the first occasion by flying down from the barn using two bamboo hats as wings, and on the second by getting out through a secret tunnel. After his brother's attempts to kill Shun, supposing Shun dead, his brother thought that his parents could now gain possession of Shun's cattle, sheep and granaries, and that he himself would be able to take Shun's lute, spears and bow. Then he thought to make sure that Shun was really dead:

Hsiang went into Shun's house and there Shun was seated on the bed playing on the lute. Hsiang looking awkward said, "I was thinking of you." Shun said, "I am thinking of my subjects. You can help me in the task of government" (Men 5.a.2).

In this story we are shown clearly of Shun's brotherly affection for his brother in spite of his brother's attempts to kill him. His brother had tried to kill him several times for no reason, yet Shun controlled him by his brotherly love. When Shun became emperor he appointed his brother an officer in Yu-pi (Men 5.a.3), and he continued to behave towards his father in a manner befitting a son (5.a.4). For Mencius, Shun was the symbol of a perfectly good son and brother. After years of striving Shun was able in the end to please his father. "Once the blind man was pleased, the pattern for the relationship between a father and a son in the empire was set" (Men 4.a.28).

Mencius moves from the importance of filial piety in the sphere of the family into its importance in the social dimension, both of these influences affecting the state. Mencius uses the outstanding example of Shun in this respect for educating the rulers in

general, taking the illustrations from common human desires such as fame, beautiful women, wealth and power:

Every man wants to please the Gentlemen of the Empire, yet this was not sufficient to deliver him from anxiety; beautiful women are also something every man desires, yet the bestowal of the Emperor's two daughters on Shun as wives was not sufficient to deliver him from anxiety; wealth is something every man wants, yet the wealth of possessing the whole Empire was not sufficient to deliver him from anxiety; rank is something every man wants, yet the superior rank of Empire was not sufficient to deliver him from anxiety. None of these things was sufficient to deliver him from anxiety which the pleasure of his parents alone could relieve (Men 5.a.4).

Although Shun earned everything that a man desires, he regards filial piety as the best wish and the moral practice of his life. Mencius continues to use the case of Shun in order to present him as an extraordinary son of filial piety:

When a man is young he yearns for his parents; when he begins to take an interest in women, he yearns for the young and beautiful; when he enters public life he yearns for the prince and becomes restless if he is without one. A son of supreme dutifulness yearns for his parents all his life. In Shun I have seen an example of son who even at the age of fifty yearns for his parents (Men 5.a.4).

Along with his exaltation of the filial piety of Shun Mencius makes an appeal to all men: "When one does not please one's parents, one cannot be a man; when one is not obedient to one's parents, one cannot be a son" (Men 4.a.28). The eloquence of this appeal is overwhelming, conveying his view of both the ideal man of benevolence-righteousness and the obedient son of his parents. This opinion of his touches the basic existence and the quality of human-beings.

2.6.3. Other Themes and Filial piety

There are several other significant subjects in which Mencius emphasises the importance of filial piety. (1) Mencius' answer to a question of what is one's most important duty in life is that it is one's duty towards one's parents. He said there are many duties that one should discharge, but the fulfilment of one's duty towards one's parents is the most basic of all (Men 4.a.19). For Mencius it is natural for a man to love his parents, and it is only by extending this love outwards that he can succeed in loving humanity in general.

(2) Mencius' ideal of a state can be summed up by the term "benevolent government". So long as the ruler is motivated by benevolence the people ruled by him will understand and accept whatever measure he finds it necessary to take (Men 7.a.12). The motive behind the practice of benevolence is this filial love for parents, and the ruler must feel something of this love for his people before he can become a good ruler. That the love a ruler feels for his people is an extension of the love felt by a parent for his child (7.a.45).

(3) Mencius takes the essential virtues expounded by Confucius, such as benevolence (*en*) and righteousness (*i*), and argues that the rulers should possess them for the people, as we have already discussed above. Moreover, he defines the other essential virtues, propriety (*li*) and wisdom (*chih*), in relation to filial piety: "Wisdom is to understand these two [filial piety and brotherly respect] and to hold fast to them; propriety is the regulation and adornment of them" (Men 4.a.26).

(4) The fact that Mencius enumerates "five deeds of filial disrespect" not given by Confucius is sufficient evidence that he held filial piety in very high esteem. The five deeds are: (i) neglecting one's parents through laziness of limb; (ii) neglecting one's parents through indulgence in the games of *po* and *yi* and fondness for drink; (iii) neglecting one's parents through one's miserliness in money matters and one's partiality toward one's wife; (iv) indulging in sensual pleasure to the shame of one's parents; (v) having a quarrelsome and truculent disposition that jeopardises the safety of one's parents, this being the worst behaviour (Men 4.a.19).

(5) Mencius criticised Yang Chu (414-334 BC) (the individualist and hedonist) and Mo Tzu (d. 382 BC) (the exponent of universal love) for their defiance of Confucian filial piety. By making a special point of attacking their views he drew increased attention to Confucian virtues, especially filial piety. He said that in those times when the traditional Chou feudal society was breaking down, the words of Yang Chu and Mo Tzu were filling the land, Yang's advocacy of individualism through denying the validity of the sovereign, and Mo Tzu's promotion of universal love by not recognising parents. Defending his own ideas, Mencius declared that to be without sovereign or parents was to be a beast (Men 3.b.9).

(6) The Five Relationships are very important themes here. The definition of the Five Relationships is more clearly made in *The Book of Mencius* (Men 3.a.4) than in *The Book of History* and *The Analects of Confucius*. This surely serves to promote the

relationship of filial piety above the other four virtues, since filial piety was central to all four.

(7) Mencius, like Confucius, was concerned with the life of the common people. The people and the subjects of rulers were unable to cultivate their fields in season and were thus made unable to support their parents, because rulers of his time used to demand the time and energies of their people for purposes of building or of war. Their parents suffered from cold and hunger, and brothers, wives and children were separated and scattered abroad (Men 1.a.5).

(8) The issues of war and peace were without doubt very important for the rulers of those times. Filial piety and brotherly respect, said by Mencius to be mightier than the sword of a strong army at war and seen by him as a prime way of attaining peaceful society, offered the hope of help (Men 1.a.5; cf. 1.a.3).

Conclusion

In this chapter it has been demonstrated, through detailed examination, that filial piety is the central theme in the Confucian Classics. The central concern of government-by-virtue as it is advocated in *The Book of History* is filial piety. A ruler (king) and his officials of filial piety can govern his people well while an ungrateful ruler can ruin his country. *The Book of Odes* shows that royal families respect their father-king by performing sacrifices, while the common people are shown honouring their parents and the kings as their parents. The majority of poems praise deceased forefathers, especially King Wen, with descriptions of ritual celebrations. In the first three sections a *chün-tzu* is highly praised as a good parent of the people. In this book the earliest surviving poem of the Shang dynasty used in ancestor-worship is the earliest known Chinese source for a definition of filial piety, which is towards a deceased father. This Shang tradition of ancestor worship occupies the central place in the last three sections of that anthology. In *The Great Learning* the centripetal arguments of both the moral cultivation of one's personality and the regulation of the family are challengingly presented but the former cannot compare, in terms of the space devoted to it, with the latter. Moreover, filial piety is original and pivotal in the regulation of the family, the achievement of national order and world peace. *The Doctrine of the Mean* deals with a variety of issues: the Way of the superior man, the Way of the sage, the Mandate of Heaven, and the meaning of sincerity. But the pivotal theme of each of

these ideas turns out to be filial piety. Finally, *The Book of Mencius* provides a firm basis to conclude that his book regards the theme of filial piety as more important than other themes. Moreover, this book deals with more importantly filial piety than other themes and treats filial piety as central.

Furthermore, *The Analects of Confucius*, regarded as a most important work for understanding the ideas of Confucius, emphasises filial piety more importantly than it does benevolence. The ideas of the *chün-tzu* and benevolence in this book rest in the concept of filial piety. Thus the presupposition that benevolence (*en*) is the centrality of Confucianism, because it is most frequently mentioned in *The Analects of Confucius* which is the authentic sayings of the Master, is an oversimplification. The book has a long history of textual compilation and consists of many sayings of both Confucius and his disciples. Also, the book is not the principal source for studies of Confucianism, and the other books are very important as well. In fact, the main textbooks, such as *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of History*, do not treat the idea of *en* at all. *The Great Learning* and *The Doctrine of the Mean* do not deal with it as extensively as filial piety, although *The Book of Mencius* deals with it and also as a paired theme of righteousness. Thus it is unfair to base such a general proposition regarding the central locus of benevolence in Confucianism upon *The Analects of Confucius* alone.

The gist of *The Book of Filial Piety*, that filial piety is the root of all virtue and the source of all education (BFP 1), is fully supported by our discussion of the other Confucian Classics. Although each of the above books has its own particular emphasis a careful study reveals that they all deal with filial piety as their central theme. We might say that many fail to see the wood for the trees.

CHAPTER TWO: Filial Piety in Early Korean Literature: the Official Culture and Popular Culture

Introduction

In the introduction we have noted that the Confucian Classics developed during the Three Kingdoms and flourished during the United Silla, the Koryo and the Choson dynasties, particularly during the late Koryo and the Choson dynasties. By and large literature plays a major role in both influencing and reflecting the thought, interests and customs of a society and its people. If so, the classics must have influenced early Korean literature. Thus it is conceivable that the filial piety which we have asserted in chapter one as the central theme in the classics must have been very extensively represented in early Korean literature. In addition, we have noted in the introduction that Korean Buddhism was suppressed by Neo-Confucianism. It was noticed that from the introduction of the classics until the late Choson dynasty, Buddhism decreased in its socio-political force, while Confucianism increased in its socio-political power. On the basis of this establishment, we will be able to examine further whether and why the filial piety of early Korean literature is in continuity with the filial piety of the classics. At the same time we will be able to investigate whether and why the filial piety of early Korean literature is in discontinuity with Buddhism. It is important to note that the Confucian Classics preceded Buddhism and thus they had no opinions on Buddhism,¹ while Korean Confucianism followed Buddhism and confronted it.

1. The Scope

Among the most general categories of early Korean literature, *Samguk Sagi* (*The History of the Three Kingdoms*), *Samguk Yusa* (*The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms*), official documents, *sijo* poems, and *kubi* (orally transmitted) literature are our selection relevant to the discussion. Early literary activity in Korea, except for *kubi* literature, depended on Chinese characters for more than fourteen hundred years, used both in a phonetic system called *yidu* which used the characters to transcribe the sounds of Korean and in the traditional manner of classical Chinese. It is because the invention

¹ D. Howard Smith, *Chinese Religions* (London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson, 1968), 46.

of the Korean alphabet (*hangul*) is comparatively recent. However, the works written in Chinese characters were mostly translated into Korean.²

The books and materials which we have selected are quite sufficient to justify our argument, because they provide substantial materials dealing with the filial piety of all classes of people. Some of them in *Samguk Sagi* (*The History of the Three Kingdoms*), *Samguk Yusa* (*Legends of the Three Kingdoms*) and folk tales like *kubi* (oral) literature are of royal family and common people, and official documents and *sijo* poems are of the royal family and the upper class.

2. Filial Piety: Continuity with the Confucian Classics and Discontinuity with Buddhism

Filial piety in our selected works presents its continuity with the classics and discontinuity with Buddhism. *Samguk Sagi* (*The History of the Three Kingdoms*), *Samguk Yusa* (*Legends of the Three Kingdoms*), folktale (*mindam*) in *kubi* (oral) literature and *sijo* poems show its continuity. Folk opera (*pansori*) in *kubi* literature and official documents display both its continuity and discontinuity.

2.1. The History of the Three Kingdoms (*Samguk Sagi*)

This book, Korea's oldest extant history, was written by Kim Pu-sik (1075-1151), a high government official in the Koryo dynasty. It follows the pattern of Chinese dynastic histories and Confucian historiography, particularly in the idea that one may learn from history by studying the virtues and vices of rulers of the past. The book contains much mythology and folklore which the author has attempted to fit into the framework of actual events, yet much of the material is likely to be legendary.³ However, stories of filial piety seem to be historical facts. In this book there are two categories of filial piety: kings' ancestor worship is recorded intermittently and the filial piety of the common people is listed among the biographies of great men and women.

(1) The kings in each kingdom practised ancestor worship during the Three Kingdoms (37 BC-661 AD) and the United Silla Kingdom (661-935). The book states

² See Byong-uk Chung, "Classical Literature", Sung-nyong Lee (ed.), *Korean Studies Today: Development and State of the Field* (Seoul: Seoul National University, 1970), 11-12.

³ Pu-sik Kim, *Samguk Sagi* [*The History of the Three Kingdoms*], Byung-do Lee (trans.), (Seoul: Eul-You Co., 1997), 9.

simply in a sentence or two that certain kings practised ancestral rituals in the first month or in certain months.⁴ Although there is neither detailed description of royal rituals nor invitation of higher ministers, the records state that royal ancestor worship carries on annually until the end of each kingdom, emphasising particularly the founder king of each kingdom.⁵ It can be assumed that the kings and the crown princes honoured their parents, considering that they were very faithful to ancestral rites. Similarly, the kings in *Minor Odes*, *Major Odes* and *Sacrificial Odes* in *The Book of Odes* were actively involved with ancestor worship as a national event, and the Duke of Shao and the Duke of Chou in *The Book of History* and *The Book of Odes* honoured their living fathers.

(2) Three stories of filial piety of the common people are concerned with the nourishment of their parent.⁶ The common people lived on the basic necessities, depending on seasonal conditions and the success of farming, and basic sustenance was not always available. Even so, in hard times they exercised the utmost care for their parents. This exceptional behaviour was always praised and rewarded by the monarchy. *The Book of Filial Piety* states that the common people are required to nourish their parents, attending to the various processes of agriculture in accordance with the seasons and the qualities of different soils, and living in virtuous conduct and frugality (BFP 6). The absence of the ancestor worship of the common people in the Four Books and *The Book of Filial Piety* corresponds to the fact that there is no mention of ancestor worship in *The History of the Three Kingdoms*. This may suggest that ancestor worship was not

⁴ Ibid., 22, 29, 35, 45, 46, 54, 55, 57, 71, 73, 75, 76, 230, 256, 260, 266, 346, 376, 379, 398, 412.

⁵ Dongshik Yu, *Hankook Musukui Yuksawa Kuzo* [*History and Structure of Korean Shamanism*] (Seoul: Yonsei University press, 1983), 124.

⁶ Pu-sik Kim, 463-64, 468-69. Three stories of the common people's filial piety need to be told. (i) Sungak served his old mother at home, not working, because he did not want to work in the bureaucracy of the Silla kingdom during the reign of Queen Sondok (r. 632-647). He was too poor to provide a meal for his mother, so he cut his thigh as a meal. After her death he kept faithfully the subsequent rituals. High officials reported this to the queen and she gave three hundred bags of rice as a reward. (ii) At the time of famine during the reign of King Kyongdok (r. 742-765) in the Silla kingdom Hyangduk and his parents were starving to death. What was worse, his mother suffered from boils. Hyangduk heartily served his mother by feeding her the flesh of his thigh and by sucking the boils of his mother's wounds. The king heard this and rewarded him with three hundred bags of rice, a house and a small rice field, and erected a monument to his filial deeds. (iii) Ji-eun begged from door to door for years in the time of Queen Chinsong (r. 888-897) of the Silla kingdom. When a famine came she could not beg any more, so she sold herself as a slave for ten bags of rice. Her mother noticed the better tasting food but felt her daughter's heartbreak, so she asked her the reason. When the good daughter told her the truth, she burst into tears. When the king heard this news, he gave her five hundred bags of rice and a house.

yet practised among the common people at the times of the Three Kingdoms and the United Silla dynasty (57 BC-935 AD).

2.2. The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms (*Samguk Yusa*)

Samguk Yusa was written in the late thirteenth century by the Buddhist monk Ilyon (1206-1289). This book contains many traditions and tales that were not included in *Samguk Sagi*. Although the word *yusa* cannot be precisely rendered in English, it refers not only to legends but also to history, anecdotes and memorabilia. The book is composed of various elements. The early parts contain various legends and folk tales, especially those connected with the founding and early history of the Three Kingdoms. These tales are mingled with a considerable amount of fairly accurate history. The later parts are mainly accounts of the founding of various Buddhist temples and pagodas, events connected with them, and the lives and miracles of famous monks. At the end five stories of filial piety are added. These five stories seem to be a mixture or a combination of historical facts and legends.⁷

Two aspects are found from an examination of the five stories. First, the filial piety of the common people towards a living parent is emphasised. One story (of Son Sun and his wife)⁸ signifies the notion of "sincerity moves the heaven", in which their son was not killed for their mother's sake, instead they were rewarded with a gift from heaven. Two stories (of Hyngduk-saji and a beggar girl)⁹ are similar to two stories (of

⁷ Ilyon, *Samguk Yusa: Legends and History of the Three Kingdoms of Ancient Korea*, trans., Tae-Hung Ha and Grafton K. Mintz (Seoul: Yonsei University Press, 1972), 9-10.

⁸ Ibid., 378-86. The food was not enough to serve his mother, although Son Sun and his wife worked hard together. What was worse was that their son ate all the food served to his mother. Therefore Son Sun decided to bury his son. His wife was deeply moved by her husband's filial piety and readily agreed. One night the mother took the child while the father carried a spade. They climbed Mt. Chwi with heavy hearts and many tears. When they began to dig a hole to bury the child they found a small bell of exquisite beauty. They hung it on a tree and struck it with a pebble and it rang with a wonderful sound. They regarded it as a god-sent gift and did not bury their son. Later the king greatly admired their good conduct and gave them a fine house and fifty bags of rice annually to encourage others to honour their parents.

⁹ Ibid., 382-85. (i) Hyangduk-Saji cut some flesh from his thigh and fed his old mother in a year of famine. Deeply moved by his exceeding filial piety the people of the province reported this to King Kyongdok (r. 742-765). The king praised the man's sacrificial deed and gave him five hundred bags of rice as a reward. (ii) A beggar girl supported her mother for years, but there was a bad harvest and she could not even beg. So she sold her body as a slave for thirty bags of rice. Her mother did not know this fact but realised she had a better taste in her stomach and a bitter one in her heart. The girl confided in her mother and they cried out. A noble man, Hyojongnang, heard about this story and sent her a hundred bags of grain and some fine clothes while his followers collected a thousand bags of rice to help her. Queen

Sungkak and Ji-eun) in *The History of the Three Kingdoms*, in terms of their content of filial piety. Mothers in extreme need were supported by the sacrificial efforts of a son and a daughter. Naturally their filial piety *par excellence* was rewarded by the authorities. Secondly, the other two stories (of Chinjong and Kim Tae-song)¹⁰ were used for the promulgation of Buddhism. It is natural that the author, a monk, used the motivation of filial piety for the recruitment of monks, offerings for building Buddhist temples and donations for Buddhist ceremonies. In fact, leaving one's mother alone at home without supporting her is against Confucian concept of filial piety.

2.3. Korean *Kubi* (oral) Literature

Kubi literature is an orally transmitted folklore. In spite of much literary activity in early Korean history it was never written down until the invention of the *hangul* (Korean Alphabet). The story of filial piety in Korean *kubi* literature appears in two out of five categories: *mindam* and *pansori*.¹¹ (i) *Mindam* (Folktale) was the principal form of literary entertainment enjoyed by the common people. It deals, as do legends from all over the world, with anthropomorphized animals, elaborate tricks, the participation of gods in human affairs, the origin of the universe and current society. *Mindam* deals with

Chinsong (r. 888-897) rewarded the dutiful daughter with an additional five hundred bags of rice and a fine house. She also ordered the building of a pavilion in the girl's honour at the entrance to her village, and named it *hyo-yang-li* (Filial Piety Sustenance Village) to commemorate her good conduct.

¹⁰ Ibid., 378-82. (i) Chingjong was one of ten disciples of the great monk Uisang Popsa (625-702). One day a monk came to him begging for donations of iron to help build a new temple. His mother gave him her only iron kettle. Chinjong praised her for offering it for the service of Buddha and cooked food on tiles and in earthen pots to make it tastier for his mother. When he explained his plan to become a monk to his mother, she agreed. Upon his hesitating to go to the temple because of caring for his old mother, she insisted that he should go at once, saying that it cannot be called filial piety if he does not join the order out of duty to his mother. Later he became a monk. The story tells that when he heard the news of her death he sat up for seven days in the posture of Buddha praying for her soul's repose and he saw her reborn into a noble life. (ii) Kim Tae-song was called the son of filial piety for two parents. One day a virtuous monk, Chomkae, visited the house of Pogan where he worked as a farm labourer and asked for a donation for a ceremony at the temple. Pogan gave him fifty rolls of cotton cloth. The monk gave him a blessing to receive ten thousand times that amount and long life and happiness. Tae-song overheard this and talked about it to his mother and they made a donation of a small rice field to the temple. The story tells that a few months later he died and was reborn in the house of Kim Mun-yang, the prime minister. He built the beautiful Pulguk Temple in memory of his new parents and the wonderful grotto of Sokkul-am (stone Buddha) in memory of his previous parents.

¹¹ Byong-uk Chung, 117-119. The other three categories follow. (iii) *Minyo* (Ballads) were transmitted orally from singer to singer. Many are now written down but many others still need to be recorded. (iv) *Kamyon Kuk* (Mask Plays) were performed by the common people on a stage, at any period during the year, giving ready expression to community life and emotions, and sometimes showing social criticism in their performance. (v) *Inhyong Kuk* (Puppet Shows) were social satires, as the mask plays were.

a long period of history from the Tangun myth of the foundation of early Korea to the Choson era at least. (ii) *Pansori* was originally a solo folk opera of the Choson dynasty. The text was first written as a type of poetry but later it took on prose forms and became narrative or novels for the common people.¹²

2.3.1. Folktale (*mindam*)

The stories of filial piety in the genre of *mindam* (folktale) were emphasised for the filial piety of the common people. Out of nine themes according to their contents we can categorise them into three groups: (i) one group ("mourning") is related to ancestor worship; (ii) a second group ("sacrifice of one's son") is associated with the promulgation of Buddhism; and (iii) a third group ("sacrificial efforts of sons or daughters", "sincerity moves heaven", "animal aid", "test of obedience", "remarrying of a single parent", "faithful support" and "forgiving of one's parents' error"), are concerned with filial piety for living parents.¹³

In the Confucian Classics three themes of filial piety ("mourning", "sincerity moves heaven" and "faithful support") are mentioned but the rest are not mentioned at all. However, a Chinese book of legends, which contains twenty-four stories, displays many similarities to the stories of filial piety in Korean legends.¹⁴ The majority of the Chinese stories (twenty stories) belong to four themes listed above, that is, "sincerity moves heaven" (four stories), "sacrificial efforts of sons and daughters" (three stories), "faithful support" (twelve stories) and "mourning" (one story). The service of deceased parents is mentioned only once in the twenty-four Chinese stories, like the "mourning" theme of Korean legends. Thus it seems that the filial piety of the common people in Korean and Chinese legends alike is related much more to the service of living parents, while the former contains a Buddhist concept of filial piety and the latter does not.

¹² Ibid., 117-118.

¹³ Cf. Kyo Hyun Ji, *Hankookui Hyo Sasang [Korean Concept of Filial Piety]* (Seoul: Minsukwon, 1997), 29-39.

¹⁴ Cf. Ki-keun Jang, 259-82.

2.3.2. *The Story of Shim Chong (pansori)*

This is a famous story of filial piety which deals with a family tragedy but ends with a dramatic happiness. The author is unknown, the scene is the late Koryo dynasty and the date is probably the early period of the Choson dynasty (15th -16th century). As the genre *pansori* developed as an art in both quality and quantity, it had a wide social audience and also it was patronised by the nobility and Confucian scholars.¹⁵ This story has been popular since then and it is still popular, referred to in school textbooks, novels and drama. Here a question needs to be asked: "Does the story emphasise Confucian filial piety and criticise Buddhism?" For this answer several things need to be considered.

First, the two stages of Shim Chong's life (beggar and queen) represent Confucian filial devotion. In the first stage, when she reached the age of nine and was able to beg for rice she used to say: "My mother died in the first seven days of my birth, so my blind father begged for me for many years. By his efforts I was able to grow up. For my poor blind father's sake, please give me a spoonful of rice. The rice will save my father from his hunger."¹⁶ Providing food for one's father's basic living could be related to Confucianism or Buddhism or universals. But a clue comes from her father's aristocratic genealogy. The nobility had the privilege and obligation to read or listen to the Confucian Classics. Shim Chong could have been aware of the Confucian tradition of filial piety. However, it becomes clear that she learnt it from Confucianism when she, as queen, asked the emperor to open a national party for the blind men: "Confucius said that to tend the blind is the noblest service of all. Please have all of the blind men in our country gather here and let us make a great party for them."¹⁷ The quotation of "Confucius said" signifies her familiarity of the classics and the purpose of the party for the blind men shows her filial piety for her father.

Secondly, she offered her body as a sacrifice to the sea for the possibility of opening her father's eyes, in spite of the disapproval of her father, Lady Chang and her friends in the village. She whispers to her father before jumping into the sea: "Oh, my papa! Please forget this disobedient daughter of yours and see everything again by

¹⁵ Alan C. Heyman, "The Story of Shim Chong (I)", 50-51.

¹⁶ Ibid., 59.

¹⁷ Alan C. Heyman, "The Story of Shim Chong (II)", 61.

regaining your sight soon. And please have a son, even in your old age of seventy.”¹⁸ This action could contradict legalistic Confucianism that prohibits harming one’s body, inherited from the parents, but it is often justified for supporting one’s parents in exceptional cases of extreme hunger and terminal sickness. The story looks beyond the filial piety of Shim Chong as the aim of opening of eyes of her father. Her concern for “his remarriage to get a son” and “filial duty by a son” can be interpreted as reflecting the Confucian concept of filial piety. Here the word “disobedient” does not mean literally so; rather it means the sacrificial act for the restoration of her father’s eyes.

Thirdly, the concept of filial piety in this story is related to Confucianism, not Buddhism. (i) The reward for filial piety is closely related to the movement of heaven, which is obviously derived from Confucianism. The story said: “In the near future, you [Shim Chong] shall be returned to life once more, as Heaven has been deeply moved by your filial piety.”¹⁹ In addition, other consequences (such as the meeting of her deceased mother, her becoming queen, the opening of her father’s eyes and the healing of all the blind men in the party) are viewed as the result of the movement of heaven, which is caused by her filial piety. According to Confucianism heaven’s compassion bestows the Mandate of Heaven (DM 17.4), and the Mandate of Heaven depends on filial piety (cf. DM 26; Ode 267; GL 10), and heaven’s being moved by filial piety always results in a reward (cf. BH 1.3; DM 17.4). *The Book of History* (BH 1.3) states that heaven was moved by Shun’s filial piety, and he became emperor. Although the concept of the “cause and effect” could be Buddhist or universal, the concept “heaven is moved by filial piety” is not related to Buddhism in this story.

(ii) The return of her life to the world, after jumping into the sea and meeting her mother in the crystal palace, is related to the command of the King of Heaven: “The King of Heaven has commanded that you [Shim Chong] be returned to the mortal world once again with gold and jewels because of your filial piety.”²⁰ Here her death is related to her filial piety, while her return is given as a reward of her filial piety by the King of Heaven. “The King of Heaven”, who is often mentioned in this story, is described as

¹⁸ Alan C. Heyman, “The Story of Shim Chong (I)”, 67.

¹⁹ Alan C. Heyman, “The Story of Shim Chong (II)”, 58.

²⁰ Ibid.

the giver of the reward to her. The plan of her second sacrificial death in order to open her father's eyes can imply a second return as a reward for her filial piety by the King of Heaven. In her case the King of Heaven is the only one who can raise her again. Thus the return of her life is associated with the King of Heaven, not a Buddhist virtue.

(iii) The evidence of the corruption of the late Koryo Buddhism can hardly suggest that the filial piety of Shim Chong is Buddhist. Her father was persuaded by a monk to promise three hundred bags of rice to Buddha when he heard that Buddha could cure him: "The Buddha of Mongun Temple has a miraculous virtue, so he can do anything for the people"²¹ and "You could see everything if you gave 300 bags of rice to the Buddha and prayed to him."²² The accumulation of wealth through religious misuse was one of the main corrupt practices found within the late Koryo Buddhism.²³ It was even worse when her father was told, "If you tell a lie to the Buddha [to pay 300 bags of rice for a miraculous cure], you will become a cripple."²⁴ The religious abuse of threatening the poor or handicapped proves enough the depth of its corruption. Furthermore, the change of her father's vocabulary from "It is by grace of the Buddha, Oh my Buddha"²⁵ (when he heard the hope of a cure from the monk in the first place) into "Oh, by the grace of God, let me look upon my beloved daughter"²⁶ (when he heard that his daughter is alive and an empress) suggests that Buddhism was regarded as corrupt and impotent.

Fourthly, the concept of filial piety is used to criticise Buddhism. She discredits Buddha who, in spite of her full payment, could not heal her father. When she saw him after three years she was disappointed to see her father still blind. She said: "But the Buddha has no virtue, since you still cannot see anything...So I will die once again and supplicate the King of Heaven to restore thy vision."²⁷ The contrast between the King

²¹ Alan C. Heyman, "The Story of Shim Chong (I)", 61.

²² Ibid.

²³ James H. Grayson, 114.

²⁴ Alan C. Heyman, "The Story of Shim Chong (I)", 61.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Alan C. Heyman, "The Story of Shim Chong (II)", 66.

²⁷ Ibid.

of Heaven and Buddha emphasises the belief of the former and the criticism of the latter. In fact she never spoke of the virtue of Buddha, but often of the King of Heaven. It is not an exaggeration to say that the whole story develops to criticise the corruption of Buddhism, emphasising the filial piety of Shim Chong and its consequences for the sake of a purer Confucian society.

2.4. Official Documents

2.4.1. *Koryosa* [The History of Koryo] 3.17a-18b

In the time of King Songjong (r. 981-997) Confucianism was accepted as the philosophy of government and then the national college *Kukjagam* was built for teaching and study as a repository of Confucian work, government documents and historical materials.²⁸ Of all the values Confucianism emphasised, filial piety received special attention. In Songjong's statement filial piety must be seen as the key policy in his administration:

Generally in governing the country, one must first attend to what is fundamental. In doing so, nothing surpasses filial piety...Filial piety is the order of myriad affairs and the core of all virtues...Truly if one is filial at home, he will certainly be a loyal official for the state. All scholars and commoners, please take my words to heart.²⁹

Filial piety became the fundamental policy of government and its highest priority, and it was thought to guarantee the success of all governmental affairs as well as ensuring the ideal moral society. As the king indicated, filial responsibility at home meant loyalty to the state. In other words, filial behaviour would help to make the state secure and bring harmony to society. To achieve this goal all people regardless of class were to be involved in the building of the Confucian kingdom.

The above text reflects the main theme of *The Book of History*, which deals with the government of the three reigns (Yao, Shun and Chou) in the tradition of filial piety. The text also echoes *The Book of Filial Piety* which deals mainly with the idea of government by filial piety. That the idea of filial piety for parents at home is transferred to the idea of loyalty to the ruler in office draws from the concept of filial piety of officers (BFP 5). This filial piety is stressed because the officers have immediate

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Peter H. Lee, 319-320.

contact with the ordinary people and their behaviour affects the people. The book therefore emphasises the loyalty of government officers, since it leads directly to a better government. As a reward for their filial behaviour at home and their loyalty in office they will, it says, receive status and salary.

2.4.2. *Koryosa* [The History of Koryo] 115.1a-4b

The growth of Confucian learning was intensified by the creation of private schools when Choe Chung (984-1068), a former prime minister, initiated the first of the twelve Confucian academies. These schools were considered to be very popular because their students succeeded in getting good grades in the national examination. This led the government to create official academies called *Hakdang* in the countryside. King Munjong (r. 1046-83) built a publishing house to print the classics.³⁰ Chong Mongju (1337-1367) helped to found the five Confucian academies in the five divisions of the capital and also to establish a Confucian academy and shrines in major provincial towns and cities. This combination of both academy and shrine was called *Hyanggyo*.³¹ Thus all government officials regarded Confucian ethics as necessary, for their characters, lives and thoughts were moulded by Confucian principles. One such official was Yi Saek (1328-1396).

Your majesty's subject [Yi] Saek, on mourning leave, here offers some ideas...As I am in mourning for my deceased father and living by the seashore...there are only two strategies. One is to defend on land, the second is to attack on the ocean.³²

Even though he was a high government official dealing with serious national issues on military strategy, he maintained the propriety of ancestral rites for his late father for three years even during war time. It was customary that, on the death of a parent, government officials left official works and kept three year's mourning at home. This shows that it was necessary for government officials to show loyalty and filial piety, but the latter is the basis of the former. The duty was observed even in times of national emergency. Regarding the theme of three years' mourning, seen through the lens of the

³⁰ James H. Grayson, 115.

³¹ Ibid., 130.

³² Peter H. Lee, 370.

Confucian Classics, *The Book of History* (2.1.4), and *The Analects of Confucius* (18.21) suggests that the people of both the upper and lower classes practised it.

2.4.3. *Koryosa* [The History of Koryo] 120.34b-39a

Pak Cho (1367-1454) was a classics scholar at the national academy of the last Koryo king, Kongyang (r. 1389-1392). His conception of Confucian filial piety was expressed in his anti-Buddhist criticism in his appeal to the king:

What kind of man is this Buddha who makes a son that should carry on the family line betray his father and sever the affection between father and son; who makes men resist the Son of Heaven and destroy the righteousness between lord and minister; who says that men and women to live together is not the way; who says that for men to plow and women to weave is not righteous, thus severing the way of generating life and blocking off the source of food and clothing and who thinks that through his way he can transform all under heaven? If his way were really carried out, humanity would be finished in a hundred years...How could the way of Three Bonds and the Five Relationships endure?³³

In Pak's criticism of Buddhism he used the concept of filial piety to attack Buddhism. First, he maintained that monastic life would separate son from father and family and oppose the intimate relationship between a father and a son, and subsequently damage righteous society because of the son's allegiance to the order of Buddhism. Secondly, a monk's celibacy is said to oppose the concept of filial piety because it makes the relationship between a father and a son cease to exist and ultimately negates the existence of human beings. The family line through a son was very important and, conversely, "no son" was regarded as the most unfaithful deed in Confucian society. Thirdly, Buddhism was blamed as a main source of social conflict, which was against the Three Bonds and the Five Relationships. The five relationships was a moral structure in maintaining the society.

Pak Cho continued to appeal to the king by reminding him of the first king Taejo's admonition that Buddhism should be abolished in due time:

Thereupon Taejo drew upon an admonition saying, "You must take a lesson from Silla, which carried out many Buddhist affairs yet perished"...But the kings and their ministers over the ages were not able to realise the founder's testament and followed shabby precedents to build without cease so that now the abuses are even worse.³⁴

³³ Ibid., 373-74.

³⁴ Ibid., 375.

The first king of the Koryo dynasty wanted to destroy Buddhism because of the accumulated abuses by the monks of the Silla dynasty, but he could not even begin to do so: "If we abolish Buddha, the people will be shocked."³⁵ Pak Cho anticipated the ruin of the Koryo kingdom by attributing the cause of the Silla's fall to Buddhism, which was, in his interpretation, the chief stumbling block to the country.

Pak Cho remonstrated with King Kongyang about his not observing filial deeds to his parents and advised him that the king should restore the Confucian virtue of filial piety and reject a role for Buddhism in restoration of the country.

His Majesty's subject laments that His Majesty has not restored himself. On the birthday of the Queen Mother, moreover, His majesty should have led his officials to wish her longevity, thereby displaying the flourishing virtue of His Majesty's restoration and finality to his ministers and people. Instead, His majesty followed the barbarian way, ignobly bowing to monks and making offerings to Buddha, thereby cutting off the hopes of the officials and the people for restoration.³⁶

The passage echoes a very important idea of *The Book of History* which describes how the filial disrespect of the king destroys the family, society and the country (BH 5.5.2; cf. 5.30). Because Shau, the last king of the Shang dynasty, did not respect his parents, society became disorderly and corrupt. In other words, the five relationships were broken in pieces (BH 5.5.2), and naturally the country was ruined. Due to the king's infatuation with Buddhist affairs he could not serve his parents properly. The people lost the virtue of filial piety and thus the country was ruined.

2.4.4. *Taejong Sillok* [King Taejong's Documents] 2.21b-22a

King Taejong (r. 1400-18) was known as a vigorous and ruthless reformer who achieved many political aims. One such achievement was to see "the law of filial piety" reinforced on the appeal of Yi Chi (d. 1414), Inspector-General.³⁷ Yi Chi made a strict law concerning domestic shrines in order to make a continuity between serving living and deceased parents so that the idea of filial piety would not cease to exist in the socio-political arena.

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ Ibid., 375-76.

³⁷ Ibid., 482. The Censor-General was a high ranking official, sometimes a member of the State Council, who remonstrates with the king and pronounces on morals in general and the abuse of public office in particular.

The law concerning domestic shrines must be strict. Those in antiquity who served their parents well extended their filial piety to them while the parents were alive, and after they died, they looked after them even better than during their lifetime and served them as if they were still alive...If the scholar-officials are ordered to establish shrines first, then the order reaches the rest of society later.³⁸

The law on the establishment of "domestic shrines" at each family home from the upper class to the common people suggests that the whole society in the Choson dynasty practised ancestor worship. The significance of the domestic shrines was a kind of turning point of the Confucianization of ancestor worship. Buddhist temples and shaman altars, where ancestor worship had been practised, were to be destroyed and the practice was shifted to domestic shrines at home. The institution of domestic shrines introduced an entirely new activity into the daily life of Koreans because the continued presence of the ancestors required regular offerings. Ancestral rites thus recommended the virtue of filial piety to the people. In this regard scholar-officials were commanded to take the initiative so that the rest of society might follow their example. In fact Pak later added a warning of dismissal from office as a punishment against those who would not comply.³⁹

According to the classics, the domestic shrines of the high officers represent the filial piety of the high officers. Because an officer's behaviour deeply affects the people under his administration they should behave in a proper manner. Its reward is that they will be able to maintain the existence of their ancestral temple (BFP 4). Every high officer was said to have had three temples or shrines (for the first ancestor of his family or clan, for his grandfather, and for his father).⁴⁰ The concept of filial piety for high officers has both dutiful and compensatory aspects.

³⁸ Ibid., 557.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ James Legge, 470.

2.4.5. King Sejong's Works

King Sejong created an ideal Confucian society and was seen as a sage.⁴¹ To promote the Confucian concept of filial piety he published three books in Korean alphabet (*hangul*). Up to the time of King Sejong all literature was written and published in the Chinese language and therefore access was confined only to the scholars and sons of the upper classes who could read it. But with the invention of Korean alphabet, Korean literature became available to the common people as well.⁴² Furthermore, due to the invention of a new printing machine her literature began to flourish, spreading the concept of filial piety to all the people.⁴³

(1) *The Songs of the Dragons Flying to Heaven*. The first work published in the new script (*hangul*) was *The Songs of Flying Dragons*, a lengthy epic poem in praising of Yi Songgye and his ancestors. This book (1445-47), comprising one hundred and twenty-five songs. They were a manifesto of the policies of the new state, a mirror for future monarchs, and a repository of heroic tales and foundation myths of China and Korea. The Songs can be divided into four sections: proem (1-2); celebration of military and cultural accomplishments of the six dragons, especially the founder (3-109); admonitions to future monarchs (110-124) and conclusion (125).⁴⁴

In the last song (125) the first king, Yi Songgye (r. 1392-98), was praised as gaining the mandate of heaven and thus securing the throne.⁴⁵ When he seized political power and became king he eulogised the virtue of his ancestors in *The Songs of Flying Dragons*, comparing the Yi house to a deep-rooted tree with abundant fruits and a spring of deep waters flowing to the sea.⁴⁶ The poem reflects the concept of the Mandate of Heaven in *The Doctrine of the Mean*. This is also a main idea of *The Book of History*, which features the blessing of heaven's will for the benefit of the people.

⁴¹ James H. Grayson, 145.

⁴² King Seijong Memorial Society, *King Seijong the Great: A Biography of Korea's Most Famous King* (Seoul: King Seijong Memorial Society, 1970), 61.

⁴³ Ibid., 109.

⁴⁴ Peter H. Lee (ed.), *Anthology of Korean Literature: From Early Times to the Nineteenth Century* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1981), 73.

⁴⁵ Ibid., 78.

⁴⁶ Ibid., 74.

The Songs of Flying Dragons follows the pattern of the third section of *The Book of Odes*. This praises King Wen, the founder of the Chou dynasty, for gaining the mandate of heaven, seizing royal power and establishing the state, and gaining fame for his virtue.⁴⁷

(2) *Hyo-haengnok (Records of Filial Deeds)*. In 1428 the king commanded Sol Sun to write *Hyo-haengnok* to teach his people about filial piety to their parents, and thus Sol Sun surveyed all such stories recorded in old and new books in China as well as in Korea. He selected the most noteworthy ten from among hundreds for each category of filial sons and daughters, loyal subjects, and chaste women. This edition was designed for children to read like songs and learn by heart to inspire filial piety in their young minds.⁴⁸

(3) *Samgang-haengsil-to (Deeds of Three Bonds Illustrated)* was published as a picture book in 1431. The book contained one hundred and ten good models of filial sons, loyal subjects and virtuous wives, including twenty-four Chinese filial stories, which explained in Chinese characters on top and below in the *hangul*.⁴⁹ The king wished to have benevolent rule like that of Yao in *The Book of History* and *The Book of Mencius*.

2.4.6. *Majesty's Memorandum on the Foundation of One Hundred Deeds (Oje Baekhang-won)*

King Yongjo (r. 1724-76) first began with an edict stressing filial piety as the basis of a hundred deeds. That is to say that filial piety is the criterion by which other deeds are measured, and conversely actions other than filial piety are vain and invalid. Secondly, the king regarded filial piety as the foundation of the classic five virtues and as the basis of socio-political structure. Thirdly, the king insisted that there should be no conflict in dealing with domestic finances because covetousness causes a lack of filial piety to parents and disharmony among brothers. Fair dealings within family business were emphasised to maintain family unity. At that time the Korean family was an extended family: usually four generations lived and worked together and thus family

⁴⁷ Cf. James Legge, 377-80, 396-96, 390-92.

⁴⁸ King Seijong Memorial Society, 71-73.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 73-74.

unity was a primary concern. Fourthly, initiative on the part of one's son and wife should be forbidden because the parents are the origin of the son and thus both the son and his wife. This means that the leadership of a family naturally lies in the hands of the parents. This reinforces the family ties just in the name of the parents, regarded as the producer of life itself. Fifthly, the king urged the people to practise filial duty while regretting his own neglect of it.⁵⁰

The Book of History is reflected here and, in particular, there is a reference to Emperor Shun. Shun controlled his notorious family. As a result he became famous throughout the empire. After he became emperor he initiated and enforced the five relationships to control the empire, and this became a paradigm of government policy (cf. BH 1.3; 2.1). *The Great Learning* also gives a description of the ancient kings' filial piety toward their fathers (GL 3.3), which could be used as a ruler's methodology for teaching his family (GL 9.1), as an example to the people (GL 3.4; cf. 9.4) and for transforming the moral character of people toward filial piety (GL 10.1), this being held to be the ultimate purpose of royal instruction (GL 9.8; 10.1).

2.5. *Sijo* Poems

Sijo is, from a historical viewpoint, the most enduring and widely represented form of Korean poetry. It became an established form at the end of the Koryo dynasty and was written throughout the Choson dynasty. *Sijo* is usually regarded as a three-line poem and frequently deals with Confucian ethical values, but there are also many poems about nature and love.⁵¹ Concerning the theme of filial piety, there are about eighty poems in Korean classical poetic literature, classified in five kinds of content.⁵²

⁵⁰ Kyo Hun Ji, 50-54.

⁵¹ Sung-nyong Lee, 113.

⁵² Kyo Hun Ji, 27-28. The poems are categorised into five groups as follows. The first group represents prayers for the longevity of one's parents. A second group exhorts the practice of filial piety, asserting that there is no greater sin than filial impiety (the worst of three thousand sins), filial piety is irreplaceable, basic to a hundred deeds, and filial piety proceeds learning. The third group pictures the life and health of one's parents in winter time, expressing great sympathy and worry about one's long absence for official business; it depicts one's yearning and missing one's parents when having a party and drinking in private because of concern for their adequate nutrition. A fourth group emphasises the grace of one's parents, saying that the grace of begetting and bringing up a child is as high as heaven and as wide as the sea, and it goes beyond the highest sky and is precious and measureless. The fifth group shows repentance for not having filial duty to one's parents when they were alive, and determination to continue ancestor worship as restoration for one's previous ingratitude.

The poems about filial piety in these five categories of Korean *sijo* poems correspond to poems in *The Book of History*, *The Book of Odes* and *The Book of Filial Piety*, but *sijo* poems in each category are more numerous than those in *The Book of Odes*, except for sacrificial songs at ancestral worship. Furthermore, the following poems reflect the filial piety of the upper class and the common people in *The Book of Filial Piety*.

2.5.1. Uruk came to the Silla kingdom in the sixth century from the neighbouring Kaya kingdom, bringing with him a harp. The king, hearing his performance, was delighted, made him his master of music, and asked him to compose new tunes for him and his people.⁵³ One of them is an expression of filial piety.

That ponderous weighted iron bar
I'll spin out thin in threads so far, (1)
To teach the sun and fasten on
And tie him in before he's gone, (2)
That parents who are growing grey
May not get old another day.⁵⁴(3)

This poem delineates the longevity of living parents. Verse 1 describes hard work and the efforts of a son or daughter spinning thin threads. This metaphor signifies an earnest attitude toward the well-being and long life of parents. Verse 2 depicts the impossibility of stopping the movement of the sun and the ageing of parents even through binding with iron threads. Counting days by sunrise and sunset was an ancient concept of time and was viewed as the cause of the parents' ageing. Thus the author seems to think that the solution was to tie the sun and parents together at a standstill. In verse 3 the author wishes the longevity of the parents as a result of the children's efforts of verses 2 and 3. The last line rather describes the hope of stopping time, which implies eternal time.

⁵³ James Scarth Gale, *History of the Korean people* (Seoul: Taewon Publishing Co., 1972), 153.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 54.

2.5.2. Chong Mongju (1337-92) was the most distinguished Confucian scholar of the Koryo dynasty and an emissary several times from the court to Chinese sovereigns. Because of his emphasis on the concept of *chung-hyo* (loyalty to one's sovereign and filial piety to one's parents) he refused to support the new Choson kingdom. As a result he was assassinated by Yi Pangwon (1367-1422), who later became a king (r. 1400-18). Pangwon invited Chong Mongju to dinner to learn whether the old patriot was for or against his revolution. When at twilight several cups went around the wine table Pangwon sang the following poem:

What about going this way, (1)
 or how about going that way? (1 a)
 Is it wrong for the *chik* vines (2)
 on Mt. Mansu to intertwine? (2a)
 We, too, likewise, twist and twine, (3)
 and may live happily for a hundred years.⁵⁵ (3a)

The contrast between verses (1) and (1a) indicates Pangwon's attempt to persuade Chong to change his loyalty from the Koryo to the Choson dynasty, because a change of his loyalty would ensure the success of the new government. *Chik* (2) is a Korean mountain plant with flexible vines and long tendrils, creeping in a tangled mass over the mountainside, and Mt. Mansu (2a) is a mountain in Kaesong, then the capital of Koryo. This metaphor reveals Pangwon's ambition to overthrow the Koryo dynasty. Thus he tries to persuade Chong to join him. Verses (3) and (3a) also urge the unity of the old and new kingdoms for the long prosperity of the united country.

To this test Chong replied with his poem, which is one of the most famous poems in Korean literature.

Though I die again,
 And die a hundred times more, (1)
 Even though my bones become dust and clay,
 and whether a soul I have or not, (2)
 This single red heart for my lord
 shall never change, never!⁵⁶ (3)

⁵⁵ Jaihiun Kim, *Classical Korean Poetry: more than 600 verses since the 12th century* (Fremont, California: Asian Humanities Press, 1994), 10.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 7.

This poem has come to stand as the highest ideal of *chung* (loyalty). Verse 1 shows his strong determination to be loyal to the present king Kongyang (r. 1389-92), in spite of his imminent death. The hyperbole of dying many times signifies his endless patriotism and fidelity to his country and the king. Verse 2 repeats the meaning of verse 1 in a vivid way, in that his fate and death cannot alter his one loyalty. Verse 3 states that he will not compromise his allegiance to his one master. Chong did not fear anyone who could take his body and soul but died of single hearted faithfulness to one master. Also this verse expresses his opposition to Pangwon's ambition to overthrow the government of Koryo.

Here, even though we can hardly find any reference to Chong's *hyo*, his *chung par excellence* can be tantamount to his *hyo* as a role model.⁵⁷ Indeed, the literati's *chung* in office is generally regarded as *hyo* at home (cf. BH 5.8.7; BFP 5). The concepts of *chung* and *hyo* prevail in the literature of government documents in the time of the late Koryo and the Choson dynasties. If a choice is necessary between the two, *hyo* is always preferred.

2.5.3. Chong Chol (1536-1593) was an outstanding figure in the political arena of the Choson kingdom. He took first place in the civil service examination in 1562 and embarked upon a long career in the public service. His political career involved various roles: royal inspector, governor of a province, personal secretary to the king, deputy prime minister and general of the army. Furthermore he was a poet who wrote some twenty-eight poems which describe his thought, his life and his society.⁵⁸ Among them, four poems demonstrated the importance of filial piety as the family and the national lessons. First, Chong Chol praises his parents for his existence and nourishment:

My father gave me life, (1)
 My mother nourished me. (1a)
 Were it not for them, (2)
 I could not have come into being. (2a)
 Their love for me cannot be repaid; (3)
 It is as boundless as the sky.⁵⁹ (3a)

⁵⁷ James H. Grayson, 130, 145.

⁵⁸ Kevin O'Rourke, "Chong Chol: *Sijo* Poet", *KJ* 26:4 (1986), 4-6.

⁵⁹ Jaihiun Kim, 53.

As a governor he seems to have remembered the parental care and the personal privilege of a high class education. However, his filial expression was basic to human beings. The similar expressions of verses 1 and (1a) emphasise the origin and growth of human life, which is a sufficient cause for serving parents. Verses 2 and (2a) depict his gratitude to his parents for his existence and life. Verse 3 expresses a filial devotion to pay back the debt of parental love which cannot be paid enough, for parental love is as high as the sky (3a).

Secondly, Chong Chol is deeply concerned with his son's academic progress and cultivation of personality.

How much progress has your son made
In mastering *The Book of Filial Piety*?
My son will finish his primer
The day after tomorrow.
When will he master the classics
And become a decent man?⁶⁰

He himself was involved with his son's Confucian education as his father was with his. To maintain high social status he needed to learn the Confucian Classics and especially *The Book of Filial Piety* in order to pass the civil service examination. However, the high level of social status is closely related to high moral standards. To master the classics is tantamount to becoming a decent man. The aim of Confucian education is revealed as both intellectual and moral credibility.

Thirdly, he used poetry for a didactic purpose in exhorting the significance of filial piety to youngsters in a more direct way. This poem emphasises filial deeds to living parents. It states that to serve one's deceased parents without having practised filial piety to them while alive is blameworthy.

You should serve your parents
While they are alive;
No use to regret unavailability
After their death.
This is only one thing in one's life
That cannot be replaced.⁶¹

⁶⁰ Ibid.

⁶¹ Ibid., 52.

Fourthly, his special concern for filial piety for other parents is expressed vividly as follows. Filial piety for one's own parents is naturally extended to that for others'. This poem depicts how he cherished with a deep sympathy the dignity of an old man who carried a heavy burden. The contrast between "old" and "young" is an important characteristic of this poem which highlights the nature and duty of *hyo*. More importantly, the concept of *hyo* goes beyond social classification. That the ruling class (*yangban*) could give help and respect to a lower class father, instead of expecting to rule or be served, was an improbability at that time. Although Chong Chol was a very high official,⁶² he was full of the spirit of a *chün-tzu* (superior man), which is compassionate to people who are low and needy.

Old man, bent upon that heavy load, (1)
 Take it off and give it to me. (1 a)
 I am young, (2)
 Not even rocks are heavy. (2a)
 Getting old is not pleasant, (3)
 How much more unpleasant to carry a heavy load.⁶³ (3a)

Verse 1 describes the condition of an old man who, whether he carries a burden for business or removal or whatever, does so alone. The old man must be poor and without his wife or children, at least at that moment. It is not probable in terms of context that he might carry a bundle of gifts for his children or wife. Verse (1a) shows the *hyo-praxis* in a concrete manner to the old man even though he is not the author's father and thus filial deed is not required. The author could command his subjects to help the old man but he intends to do so by himself. This is an extraordinary filial piety considering the social condition of that time and his social status. A man of the *yangban* class would not carry things by himself on his back or shoulder, rather he would bring servants to carry them. Verse 2 means that the young son must respect an old father.⁶⁴

⁶² Kevin O'Rourke, 8. At this time he was governor of Kangwon-do province, so he may have had four secretaries, thirty servants, and sixty members of his household. When he went out two men led his horse, each holding a bridle rein. Cf. James S. Gale, *History of the Korean People* (Seoul: Taewon Publishing Co., 1972), 189.

⁶³ Kevin O'Rourke, 49.

⁶⁴ Ibid., 4, 7, 8. The phrase "I am young" means that he was probably thirty years old at the time of his governorship at Kangwon-do province, because he was twenty-six years old when he took his first job as royal inspector. What then does he mean by "old man" in terms of age? In his other poem on the struggle with the pleasure of wine, he defines "old":

This is the Confucian foundation upon which government, society and family are built. Verse (2a) indicates the strength of the young man and also his determination to help the old man at any cost. Verse 3 expresses sympathy for the man's age, which is characteristic of Confucian filial piety. Growing old is natural, no-one is immune to it, but the purpose of the poem is to encourage the old man addressed or other hearers or readers. Verse (3a) also comforts the man with deep concern for his poor condition. Thus the poem consists of verse 1 depicting the condition of the old man while the rest of poem shows the contents of *hyo*: the former raises the issue of respecting the old, and the latter includes a longer verse to find out the solution and expresses genuine compassion.

Conclusion

A conclusion is to be drawn from what we have discussed. Filial piety in early Korean literature is in the continuity of the filial piety of the Confucian Classics and is used for the discontinuity of Buddhism. Both its continuity with Confucianism and discontinuity against Buddhism expressed in early Korean literature indicate a deep influence of the former upon the latter.

(1) The Continuity. First, the concept of filial piety in the Confucian Classics is similar to that in early Korean literature in terms of there being different kinds of filial piety for the different social classes. Since the society as a feudal hierarchy was divided into five classes, each class had its own definition of filial piety. *The Book of Filial Piety* deals with five kinds of filial piety, i.e., of the Son of Heaven (the king or emperor), of princes of states, of ministers, of officers and of the common people (BFP 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). Likewise, Korean literature showed three kinds of filial piety, i.e., of king, the aristocrats and the common people. The filial piety of kings appeared in *The Songs of Flying Dragons* in that the king praised his father and grandfather kings in terms of receiving the mandate of heaven and thus securing the throne, exalting his virtue, brave

*I'm fifty now, no longer young,
 Yet, whenever I go, at the mere sight of wine.
 I break into a broad toothy grin,
 What's wrong with me?
 Wine is old, old acquaintance:
 I can never forget him.*

Thus it can be said that old man (verse 1) could be in his fifties. Considering the two poems, his definition of a young man is about thirty while that of an old man is about fifty years old.

heart and care for the people as a good father. The *yangban*'s filial piety was described as praising the kindness of his parents for the personal privilege of upper class life and education. The filial piety of the common people in *Samguk Sagi* (The History of the Three Kingdoms) and *Samguk Yusa* (Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms), as we know, was confined largely to the nourishment and health of their parents, and in *kubi* (oral) literature it had a variety of similar manifestations.

Secondly, the different emphasis of the two Confucian literature resulted in similar consequences. While the Confucian Classics deal more with the filial piety of the ruling class, in Korean literature the filial piety of the royal family, the upper class and the common people feature almost equally together. *Samguk Sagi* deals with the filial piety of royal family and the common people, and all five stories in *Samguk Yusa* and all Korean *kubi* literature deal only with the filial piety of the common people. *The Story of Shim Chong* is an excellent story to show filial devotion to the parents of the common people. Yet official documents indicate that filial piety is emphasised more to the rulers than the common people. It is natural that officials' initiative on government policy is necessary for achieving a Confucian moral society so that the rulers and the common people can be united in keeping the socio-political mandate of filial piety. *Sijo* poems which depict the Confucian ethical values of filial piety illustrate a little more the life and interests of the upper class than the common people, while touching the common ground of a person's gratitude for his or her parents.

Thirdly, the reward concept of filial piety was transferred. According to the Confucian Classics the concept of reward for filial piety was originally associated with the mandate of heaven, which resulted in securing the throne (BH 1.3; 2.2; DM 17.4). In fact this concept started from the royal class, and it came down to upper and lower classes and then to the common people. *The Book of Filial Piety* indicates that four rewards were endowed to four kinds of classes of people, not the common people (BFP 2, 3, 4, 5, 6). But *The Book of Mencius* mentions that the common people received a reward: Shun was a commoner and later became emperor as a result of filial piety (Men 5.a. 1.; 5.b.3; 2.a.8; cf. BH 1.3; 2.1). In this case Korean literature also covers rewards of filial piety from the king to the common people. As we have seen in *Samguk Sagi* and *Samguk Yusa*, rewards were given to sons and daughters demonstrating filial piety. The king dispatched officials to teach filial piety to the people and to look for obedient

sons and grandsons. According to the reports of the dispatched officials the king offered rewards to them.⁶⁵ Korean folktales claim that filial duty always resulted in rewards.

Fourthly, both the Confucian Classics and early Korean literature demonstrated a twofold aspect of filial piety and ancestor worship. By and large *The Book of History*, *The Book of Odes*, *The Analects of Confucius*, and *The Book of Mencius* deal with both aspects, and *The Doctrine of Mean* and *The Great Learning* treat filial piety and ancestor worship respectively. Likewise, *The History of the Three Kingdoms*, Korean *kubi* (oral) literature (Folktales and *The Story of Shim Chong*), official documents and *sijo* poems contain both aspects, while *The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms* treats filial piety only. We will discuss these two aspects further in chapter three, while arguing that filial piety is preferable to ancestor worship.

(2) Discontinuity. Confucian filial piety was used for criticising and destroying Buddhism in the late Koryo and the Choson dynasties. In fact filial piety was the official and the popular culture, and it could be the best tool to destroy Buddhism, condemning it as a religion of filial disrespect. This is a characteristic of Korean neo-Confucianism. *The History of Koryo* (120.34b-39a) contains serious criticism of the principles and corruptions of Buddhism. The principles of Buddhist withdrawal from the ordinary life of the five relationships, and of celibacy that hindered the continuity of family lines, were condemned. The political interference of Buddhist monks and the alleged negative economic effect of Buddhism on the national budget, due to a tax-free, labour-free, luxurious life and high expenses for maintaining many temples throughout the country, were also condemned. *The Story of Shim Chong* also criticised Buddha as powerless to assist her father, using the concept of filial piety. The law of domestic shrines was another scheme of government to destroy Buddhism: sons and daughters did not have to go to the temples for ancestor worship and they could do it at home. The consensus or the mood of the late Koryo society was against Buddhism, more so in the Choson dynasty.

Therefore, we can acknowledge that during the Choson dynasty, Korea was a fuller Confucian society emphasising filial piety in particular. Filial piety was a most practical morality and it was both the official and popular culture in Korea.

⁶⁵ Peter H. Lee, 319-20.

CHAPTER THREE: The Fulfilment of Filial Piety (I): Discontinuity with Ancestor Worship

Introduction

In chapters one and two we have shown that filial piety is the central theme in the Confucian Classics and is a most important practice in early Korean literature. This indicates that filial piety was the official and the popular culture in early Korean society. In the contexts of the Confucian Classics and early Korean literature, ancestor worship was viewed as a part of filial piety. Ancestor worship has been regarded as a hindrance to Christianity in Asia. However, this controversial issue was not serious as such in Korea. In this chapter we will attempt to examine how ancestor worship weakened in Korean culture and how Christian and biblical narratives deal with ancestor worship. First, we need to investigate how the Confucian Classics and early Korean literature dealt with ancestor worship and how the contemporary phenomena weakened the status of ancestor worship. Secondly, we need to look into whether Christian and biblical views of ancestor worship is discontinuous with it. Our discussion will give a better understanding of how biblical texts and Korean Christian context disagree with ancestor worship.

1. The Weakened Status of Ancestor Worship

We have four subjects here to be discussed in order to show the weakened status of ancestor worship: (1) preference for filial piety, (2) the significance of the five relationships, (3) the cessation of the politicisation and (4) the modern phenomenon of ancestor worship.

1.1. Preference for Filial Piety

Looking into the earlier usage of the term filial piety, the tendency of filial responsibility was more directly towards the spirits of deceased ancestors. *The Book of History*, when mentioning filial piety and related matters, deals mainly with ancestor worship, the case of Shun being an exception (BH 1.3). In *The Book of Odes* the *Odes of the Temples and Altars* are all connected with ancestor worship of the sovereigns of the Shang and the Chou dynasties, and of the lords of Lu. However, in *The Analects*, although filial piety toward one's deceased parents is considered (Ana 1.11; 3.2, 10, 11;

4.20; 19.17), having an attitude of obedience and reverence toward one's living parents is discussed at greater length (Ana 1.2, 6; 2.7, 8; 4.18, 19, 21). In accord with Confucius' humanism, his stress on the service to living parents is more convincing: "Confucius replied, 'There was Yen Hui who loved learning. Alas, his life was short; he is dead, and now there is no one'" (Ana 11.7). "Tzu-lu asked how to serve the spirits and gods. The Master said, 'You are not yet able to serve men, how could you serve the spirits?'" (Ana 11.11). In the case of the ancestral rituals Confucius' main concern was with the continual remembrance of them rather than with the worship of them as spirits (Ana 1.9). In other words, he was more concerned with maintaining the continuity of tradition and solidarity of the living family members along with forefathers than with appeasing their spirits with extravagant offerings with a view to obtaining their protection and blessing (cf. Ana 2.5). Confucius himself did not practise ancestor worship, although he taught his disciples to do so in order not to oppose the tradition. Mencius, like Confucius before him, elaborates chiefly on the importance of filial piety towards living parents, illustrating Shun's filial piety towards his father (Men 5.a.2; 4.a.26), while describing briefly ancestor worship of the royal family (Men 4.a.28). *The Great Learning* (GL 3.3; 9.1, 4; 10.1) mentions only filial piety towards living parents, while *The Doctrine of the Mean* mentions some matters concerning deceased ancestors in connection with ancestor worship (DM 17.1; 18.23; 18.23; 19.2-6). In this regard, the great majority of scholarship agrees that filial piety towards living parents has a much emphasis in the Confucian Classics.

As the Confucian Classics advocate filial piety more than ancestor worship, so filial piety to living parents features more in early Korean literature. Three stories in *Samguk Sagi* (The History of the Three Kingdoms) and all five stories in *Samguk Yusa* (The Memorabilia of the Three Kingdoms) describe service only to a living parent, while some kings only practised ancestral worship. Filial piety as service to living parents can signify the pre-historical phenomena of domestic life and the basic characteristic of the filial piety of the royal family and the common people. Korean *kubi* (oral) literature describes filial piety chiefly for living parents. Eight of nine categories deal with the filial stories of nourishment, love and health care, but one category deals with a mourning theme. *The Story of Shim Chong* describes the filial piety of Shim Chong for her living father. Official documents deal with both filial piety and ancestor worship. Official recognition of two aspects of filial duty as the state policy and

administration began in these dynasties of the late Koryo and the early Choson, but filial piety was more emphasised. Furthermore, *sijo* poems depict more filial affection to living parents in terms of wishing for the longevity of one's parents, exhorting filial piety, emphasising gratitude to one's parents, and caring for the life and health of one's parents. Four out of five categories are related to filial piety.

1.2. The Significance of the Five Relationships

The Five Relationships are a very important theme in the Confucian Classics and all these are associated with living personal interactions. The observance of these five relationships was a socio-political requirement in the late Koryo and Choson dynasties (*The History of Koryo* 120.34b-39a; cf. *Records of Filial Deeds* and *Deeds of Three Bonds Illustrated*). This concept obviously came from the classics. As noted, in *The Book of History* Emperor Shun initiated the Five Relationships and regulated the empire in terms of this ideology, and this government policy went valid throughout three dynasties (BH 2.1; 2.15; 2.2.2; 2.3.3; 4.4.3; 5.9.3). *The Book of Mencius* (Men 3.a.4) states that there should be righteousness in the relationship between sovereign and subject; there should be affection in the relationship between father and son; there should be deference in the relationship between husband and wife; there should be order in the relationship between older and younger brother; there should be faith in the relationship between friend and friend. *The Book of Rituals* (Li Chi 7.2.19), however, explains this relationship in more detail in terms of mutual correspondence. The king should be benevolent and his subjects should be loyal, the parents should love their children and the children should obey their parents, a husband should be just and a wife should be obedient, an elder brother should be good and a younger brother should be respectful and submissive, and friends should be faithful to one another. Confucianism generally regarded as a socio-political philosophy, in fact, is not interested in dead people in a large sector of the society. As a matter of fact, the worship of the deceased parents in the family circle was practised for the purpose of the solidarity of living members of the family, let alone filial piety towards the living parents in daily life.

1.3. The Cessation of the Confucian Policy of Ancestor Worship

Ancestor worship, for the rulers, was a sign of their political existence. That is, while the temples or shrines endured the family and its honour endured. Conversely the cessation of sacrifices was a sign of the ruin of a ruling family and vice versa. This concept came particularly from *The Book of Filial Piety* which deals with the ancestor worship of the rulers in detail. (i) Ancestor worship of the king and royal family, which came from their fathers who had received the mandate of the heaven, was the most privileged ritual as a sign of sovereignty. To place one's father on a par with heaven was regarded as the supreme expression of filial piety (BFP 10). Royal ceremony played a major role in showing the model to their ministers and the people, and in maintaining peace and harmony (BFP 8). (ii) The concept of ancestor worship for the princes of the state subordinated to the Chou dynasty was a sign which maintained the positions and riches. For this prestige, they had to support the king to maintain the kingdom (BFP 3). (iii) The concept of ancestor worship for the high ministers was similar to that of the princes in terms of the positions and riches. From the observance of their duties, they maintained the existence of their ancestral temples. Every minister was said to have had three temples or shrines (BFP 4). (iv) Ancestor worship for government officers was the reward of loyalty to the king. The officers of the lower position had immediate contact with the common people and their behaviours thus affected them greatly (BFP 5).

Similarly in the Choson dynasty ancestor worship was a token of the political existence of the rulers, as we noted in the official documents and *sijo* poems of early Korean literature. The rulers in monarchical or feudal society, who had inherited their high social status and wealth from their eminent ancestors, naturally practised ancestral rituals as honorary activities. The king praised his father in the rituals in terms of receiving the mandate of heaven and thus securing the throne, exalting his merit of virtue. The ruling class (*yangban*) also praised his parents for the privilege of upper class life and education and performed the rituals.

However, when the Confucian government had lost official hegemony to control its mandate the politicisation of ancestor worship ceased. This political duty of ancestral rituals stopped and the social recognition of it waned gradually.

1.4. The Social Phenomena of the Post-Confucian Era

After the fall of Confucian monarchy, the social recognition of ancestor worship waned gradually. The bloody struggles over the practice of ancestral rites, a chapter of Korea's history, gave a negative impression to the modern popularity of its practice, or a general tendency to forget the bad past. When Roman Catholicism was introduced to Korea at the beginning of the seventeenth century, intense conflicts took place between the conservative Neo-Confucianism and the progressive Catholicism over this issue. Roman Catholics' refusal to perform ancestor worship resulted in the massacre of more than ten thousand persons during the next three centuries.¹ While Catholics' refusal to observe the ancestral rites was viewed as a theological issue, it was perceived as a social and political issue by the Choson government. This matter created a bad and tragic image of the rite amongst the people. Since the Korean attitude towards ancestral rites has changed, an analysis should be made to ascertain which social factors have facilitated this transition. There were several social factors which weakened the practice of ancestor worship.

(1) The revival of nationalism distanced the people from Confucianism and the custom of ancestor worship. The scholars of the *Sirhak-pa* (Practical Learning School) became aware of national awakening, since they were being tired of ritualistic or legalistic Confucianism which often neglected the importance of contemporary and practical issues of the people. No Koreans would deny the country's cultural indebtedness to China, but few are proud of it. Although Confucianism controlled almost all sectors of Korean life and the teaching of Confucius made a lasting impact upon Korean culture and thought, few people regard themselves as Confucians. Many intellectuals blamed the political factional debates of Confucian scholars during the eighteenth century over ancestral rites, which caused a major conflict and factionalism among government officers. As a result, a large number of Confucian scholars or national leaders in the late nineteenth century were converted to Christianity. Modern Koreans also are aware of cultural and political paternalism which deterred national

¹ Bong-ho Son, "Socio-philosophical Background for Change of Attitude toward Ancestor Worship", Bong Rin Ro (ed.), *Christian Alternatives to Ancestor Practice* (Seoul: Word of Life & Asia Theological Association, 1985), 235-236.

development.² There are many critics of Neo-Confucianism particularly because it affected the society.

(2) Another case was the Shinto shrines. Between 1919 and 1931 the Japanese government put extreme pressure upon all Koreans to participate in the ritual bowing at Shinto shrines. The Japanese nationalists had a vision of conquering the Chinese mainland and the continent, and they realised that they needed not only an army but also a faith. They found that faith in Shintoism, known as the ancestor worship of the Japanese emperor, cultivating its usefulness as "a agency of political and military control". To bind the whole empire into a loyal and dutiful force for the Asian conquest, Japan attempted to impose this faith on all of its people, even the Koreans. Shinto shrines were established as the centres of worship in every town.³ Particular pressure was made upon the schools to include Shinto worship in the daily morning exercises. This became an urgent issue for the churches, for a number of schools were church-related or mission schools. Because of resistance, many mission schools and churches were closed, more than two thousand pastors and church members were arrested, and more than fifty persons died in prison.⁴ They suffered form imprisonment, torture and martyrdom. It was a nation-wide tragedy and disgrace to respect the ancestors of the enemy.

(3) Cultural secularisation changed the general attitude towards ancestor worship. Modernisation and western education revealed it as outdated. In fact, the practice of ancestor worship was rooted in an outdated world view: past-oriented view of time and a naturalistic world view. The traditional view of the universe is no longer acknowledged by modern Koreans whose education reflects the world view of the secular sciences. Modern Koreans do not believe that the ancient people were wiser than modern people in a computerised age and that the sacredness of nature prevails in the natural world, while they take the past as a lesson or reference and nature as an

² Ibid., 237-238

³ Andrew E. Kim, "A History of Christianity in Korea: From Its Troubled Beginning to Its Contemporary Success", *KJ* 35:2 (1995), 43.

⁴ Daniel J. Adams, "Ancestor, Folk Religion and Korean Christianity:", Mark R. Mullins and Richard Fox Young (eds.), *Perspectives in Christianity in Korea and Japan* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 98-99.

object to be protected more than worshipped. In modernity ancestor worship is no longer regarded as a moral and religious mandate.⁵

(4) The sense of estrangement contributed to the decline of ancestor worship. Certain elements of the rite became unfamiliar to the contemporary Korean people. The Chinese words on the tablets and their composition are so unfamiliar that they seem to have no meaning to most Koreans. The arrangement of food on the offering table in a particular order and bowing several times to the tablets in a rigid fashion are also another unfamiliar custom. The long legged altar tables and the incense burners used during the rites are viewed as unfit to the modern psychological pattern of life.⁶

(5) The decentralised family system due to social mobilisation made it difficult to observe the rites easily. The size of the family has become smaller and brothers and sisters are scattered through the country and even other countries. This situation makes family gatherings more difficult. The first son or other sons and daughters living in different cities lose gradually the sense of filial duties towards the rites. The authority of the eldest son is waning. Moreover, the number of families with only one son has increased due to family planning or other reasons, and the number of families with only one daughter for whatever reason has increased. The significance of the ceremony is being obscured.⁷

(6) The rise of individualism in the sense of self-centredness, as distinguished from ethical individualism which respects the dignity of the person, has made contemporary people forget their ancestors.⁸ They are so occupied with their own matters and concerns that they tend to overlook or ignore the ritual. And also they want to be free from the restrictions or regulations of traditional custom. With all these factors which weakened the social moral mandate of ancestor worship, only a personal motivation remains to determine whether to do it or not. All these factors contribute to the irregularity or gradual cessation of the rites.

⁵ Ibid., 238-241.

⁶ Ibid., 236-243.

⁷ Ibid., 242.

⁸ Chai-sik Chung, *Korea: the Encounter between the Gospel and Neo-Confucian Culture* (Geneva: WCC Publications, 1997), 13.

2. The Old Testament Negation of Ancestor Worship

Was ancestor worship practised in ancient Israel? On the one hand it has been asserted that ancestor worship is found nowhere in the Bible, and on the other hand it has been argued that ancient Israel shared the ancestor cult of its neighbours.⁹ We will look at biblical texts from the perspective of Confucianism, and thus we need to have a Confucian definition of ancestor worship.¹⁰ Ancestor worship is, according to Confucian texts, a cult directed towards the deceased father or mother with sacrificial offering (Ana 2.5; 10.15), or food and drink (Ana 3:10), in a shrine or tomb (Ana 10.5;

⁹ Biblical scholarship on this issue has been equivocal. (1) Theodore J. Lewis (*Cults of the Dead in Ancient Israel and Ugarit* [Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989], 119) asserts that there was a cult of the dead in ancient Israel. His lengthy thesis attempts to prove the existence of a cult of the dead on the basis of Ugarit parallels with biblical texts. He focuses on necromancy. There is enough evidence of necromancy practised in Israel (e.g., Deut 18:9; 1 Sam 28:3-25). He did not distinguish between necromancy and a cult of the dead, and he used the two terms as identical. (2) R. H. Charles (*Eschatology: The Doctrine of a Future Life in Israel, Judaism and Christianity* [London, 1913], 19) admits that traces of ancestor worship can still be found in the second century BC. (3) F. Schwally (*Das Leben nach dem Tode nach den Vorstellungen des alten Israel und des Judentums* [Giessen, 1892], 35) proposes evidence of the cult of the ancestor: "Wie Jahve, so werden im alten Israel auch die Ahnen ihre Bilder gehabt haben. Und es spricht manches dafür, dass Teraphim ein Name für solche Ahnenbilder gewesen ist." His evidence relies on archaeology. (4) Roland de Vaux (*Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* [London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961] 61.), regarding the rites related to the treatment of the dead, maintains that these ceremonies were regarded as a duty which had to be paid to the dead as an act of filial piety, and that the dead were honoured in a religious spirit but that no cult was built on them. (5) G. E. Wright (*The Old Testament against Its Environment* [London: SCM], 101) asserts that sacrificial offerings to the dead did not exist in Israel, saying that "The focus of attention is on the will and acts of God, especially as revealed in historical events". Thus religious festivals to Yahweh were regarded as being most important in the faith and life of Israel. (6) Peter Ellis (*The Yahwehist: The Bible's First Theologian* [Notre Dame; Indiana: Fides Publisher, 1968], 101) concludes that the God of the patriarchs, as he is revealed through the patriarchal tradition in Genesis, is personal, unrestricted and unassociated with other gods. He suggests that the question may be raised of whether they realised the God they worshipped was indeed the only God. (7) Brian B. Schmidt (*Israel's Beneficent Dead: Ancestor Cult and Necromancy in Ancient Israelite Religion and Tradition* [Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr], 1994) concludes that the existence of mortuary data does not guarantee the observance of ancestor worship. The care, feeding and commemoration of the dead neither presupposed nor necessitated the belief in the power of the dead as expressed in ancestor worship. (8) E. Kautzsch (*Dictionary of the Bible* [James Hastings: Edinburgh, 1904], 615) holds that if ancestor worship prevailed in the pre-Mosaic period it is psychologically conceivable that respect for dead bodies and the tombs of parents inspired at least tendencies to a spirit of ancestor worship, but this is viewpoint of archaeology, not of biblical theology. (9) Klaas Spronk (*Beatific Afterlife in Ancient Israel and in the Ancient Near East*, AOAT 219. [Nerkirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener, 1986], 34, 37, 249) believes that clear evidence of a cult of the dead practised by Israel is scarce. He accepts the opinions of most scholars that there is no certain evidence given in the text for worship of the dead. The only thing from which evidence can be derived is the archaeological data.

¹⁰ Ancestor worship is often confused with the cult of the dead. We need to distinguish difference between the two. The former is directed toward one's dead parents in the family line, while the latter is directed toward the dead in general. The former is related to the positive moral force or the prevention of misfortune, whereas the latter in general is related to amoral or antisocial ends. See Andrew Chiu, "An Inquiry on Ancestor Worship in the Old Testament", Bong Rin Ro (ed.), *Christian Alternatives to Ancestor Practices*, (Seoul: Word of Life & Asian Theological Association, 1985), 22; see also Brian B. Schmidt, 7.

BFP 9, 18) for their remembrance (Ana 1.9; 4.21), or to consult or to seek favours from them (Ana 11.21; BH 5.6; 5.22). Since ancestor worship is involved with a son's or daughter's filial deed towards his or her deceased father or mother we will deal with biblical texts which contain at least one of these words, such as father, mother, son, daughter or family members. Also, since it is a cult, we will deal with passages including references to offerings to the dead, or consulting and seeking favours from the dead. The present study attempts to clarify not only whether Israel performed ancestor worship, but also differentiates ancestor worship from necromancy, which was a discovered vestige of an early tradition practised in ancient Israel.

2.1. Genesis 23:1-4, 19.

Sarah lived to be a hundred and twenty-seven years old. She died at Kiriath Arba (that is, Hebron) in the land of Canaan, and Abraham went to mourn for Sarah and to weep over her. Then Abraham rose from beside his dead wife, and spoke to the Hittites. He said, "I am an alien and a stranger among you. Sell me some property for a burial site here so I can bury my dead" (1-4). Afterward Abraham buried his wife Sarah in the cave in the field of Machpelah near Mamre in the land of Canaan (19).

The passage, in its description of Abraham burying his wife, is a prototype of Israelite funeral rites. At this funeral Isaac must have been presented and taken part in the rites. After her death Abraham made five steps: first, he "went" to the tent where the body lay; secondly, he "mourned" for his wife; thirdly, he "wept" as a demonstration of grief;¹¹ fourthly, he "rose" from the mourning rite, which was carried out whether sitting or prostrate;¹² and fifthly, he "buried" her in the cave. All these rites were carried out in a proper order in the presence of the corpse. Although each funeral process in the cases of Abraham and Isaac led by their sons appears only in terms of "burying" them (Gen 25:9; 35:29), the funeral ceremony undoubtedly would have followed a similar procedure.

Here we can see that the first four procedures were not associated with religious features. (i) *בוא* is used for a person to enter into a place, or go to a person with an

¹¹ John Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1910), 335.

¹² Claus Westermann, *Genesis 12-36: A Commentary* (Minneapolis: Augsburg Publishing House, 1981), 373.

intention (Gen 23:1-4; 49:1; 50:1-2). (ii) סָפַד indicates mourning for the deceased. This verb is always used for its association with one's death. (iii) בָּכָה means to weep in sadness or joy, and in this context it means the former. (iv) קָבַר is the word only for burying the corpse in the ground, or the grave or cave. However, (v) if the last procedure קָם is to arise from שָׁחָה ("being prostrate" or "bowing down"), it has an allusion to a cult of the dead. The verb שָׁחָה is used as a technical term for cultic worship to either Yahweh or other gods (Ex 20:5; 23:24; Deut 5:9; Josh 23:7. 16; Ps 81:9). But when it applies to a living father or mother it is a gesture of respect for him or her. Joseph prostrates himself before his father Jacob (Gen 48:20), Moses before his father-in-law Jethro (Ex 18:7) and Solomon before his mother Bathsheba (1 Kgs 2:19). Furthermore, on all other occasions it represents homage to living persons, whether to a king or ruler or someone due homage (Gen 43:28; 1 Sam 20:41; 25:23, 41; 24:8; 28:14; 2 Sam 9:6, 8; 14:4, 22; 16:4; 24:20; 1 Kgs 1:16, 23, 31; 1 Chr 29:20; Ruth 2:10). It is never used with reference to a dead person. In all these activities there is no indication of cultic performance towards the deceased. It is the worldly or natural behaviour of human beings for a funeral rite.

2.2. Genesis 50:1-2, 10, 12-13

Then Joseph **threw** himself on his father's face and **wept** over him and **kissed** his father (1-2). Joseph commanded the physicians in his service to **embalm** his father (10). Joseph observed a seven-day period of **mourning** for his father. Thus his sons did for him as he had instructed them. They **carried** him to the land and **buried** him in the cave of a field at Machpelah (12-13).

The funeral ceremony which Joseph followed for his deceased father contained seven steps, as appears in the above text. The first three steps, "throwing himself on his father's face", "weeping over him" and "kissing him", seem to be immediately subsequent procedures. Throwing oneself and kissing are a natural expression of a son's filial love toward his father. This emotional expression of Joseph may be inherited from his father who shows him a special concern by embracing and kissing (Gen 48:10), just as Laban his grandfather did to Jacob (Gen 29:13). The fifth step is that Joseph observed a seven-day period of mourning for his father. Joseph's brothers would have joined the mourning (Gen 50:11). The mourning period varies from that of a week for

Jacob to that of a day or two for Sarah.¹³ The sixth step is that Joseph and his brothers carried him to the land of Canaan. The significance of "carrying" the corpse indicates the long journey from Egypt to Machpelah in the land of Canaan. The last step is to bury him in the cave. As his father instructed him to do, so Joseph obeyed and finished the burial.

However, the fourth one that embalms his father could suggest a religious influence of Egypt. The arrangement for having the corpse embalmed by Egyptian physicians required considerable time, generally forty days. The embalming of the corpse is made in the setting of Egypt and unique in the Old Testament (Gen 50:2, 26). The Egyptian influence of embalming the corpse is due to the following factors: (i) Joseph is the second highest official in Egypt, and thus he must act officially; (ii) he had already become a product of that culture, for he had lived there since the age of seventeen; (iii) the funeral procession is allowed by the permission of the Pharaoh and followed by all the officials of Pharaoh's court, the dignitaries of Egypt and a military unit; (iv) the ordinary people of Egypt also join in the mourning period of seventy days (cf. Gen 50:1-21). But embalming was practised to preserve the corpse from quick decay for a long journey to Palestine. There is no indication that the process as a whole was involved with ancestor worship.

¹³ The length of the period of mourning depends on the situation: seven days (1 Sam 31:13), thirty days (Num 20:29). But generally in Israel burial takes place on the day of death (Deut 21:22-23).

2.3. Deuteronomy 26:14

לֹא־אֲכַלְתִּי בְּאֵי מוֹמֶנִּי
וְלֹא־בִעַרְתִּי מוֹמֶנִּי בְּטִמְאָה
וְלֹא־נָתַתִּי מוֹמֶנִּי לַמֵּת

I have not eaten of it while in mourning;
I have removed any of it while I was unclean;
and I have not offered any of it to the dead. (NRSV)

The underlined text suggests that sacrificial foods would be provided in the grave of a dead person.¹⁴ Offering a tithed food is associated with a cultic significance. That is to say that the dedication of a tenth of agricultural produce and livestock is related to the worship of a deity.¹⁵ The first reference to a tithe in the Old Testament appears in Genesis 14:17-20, where Abram (Abraham) gives a tithe of the spoils of his battle to Melchizedek, who is the king of Salem and the priest of God Most High. To offer a tithe to the priest of God signifies a cultic performance that the priest offers to God and blesses its giver. The second reference shows that tithes were given as an offering sacrifice in fulfilment of vows to God in Genesis 28:22, and it appears from the context of Leviticus 27:30-33 that when sacrificial tithes became customary and obligatory rather than voluntary they were still associated with vows to God. It was stipulated that a tenth part of the land, of its seeds and of the fruits of the trees would be set aside for God (Lev 27:30). Deuteronomy 14:22-29 and 26:12-15 provide extreme regulations for tithing. They are to consume the tithes of grain, wine, oil and firstlings as a sacrificial meal in a place chosen by God. However, the tithed food was also given to the persons in need (the Levite, the sojourner, the orphan and the widows) with what was kept on every third year (Deut 14:28-29; 26:12). Giving foods to living humans in need is not a cult, but an act of charity. But if it is given to the dead, it could be a cult.

To examine whether the text contains an ancestral rite, the word לַמֵּת in its related passage needs to be interpreted properly. It could be interpreted "for the dead" or "to the dead", depending upon the preposition ל. The former refers to a funeral ceremony for the loss of one's life, and the latter refers to the placing of food at the

¹⁴ Anthony Phillips, *Deuteronomy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1973), 175.

¹⁵ F. Schally states that there is no difference between offerings of foods to the dead and the sacrifice to the gods: "Der Tote bekam ebenso seinen Anteil vom Leichenschmas, wie Jahve von den opfermahlzeiten, die an der Cultstättē verzehrt wurden." (p. 23).

grave site, which hints at cultic worship. To clarify this allusion we need to find out how the word *למנוחה* is used. It occurs four times in the Old Testament (Deut 14:1-2; 26:14; Jer 16:5-7; 22:10).

(1) The passage in Jeremiah 16:5-7 indicates a funeral ceremony for a deceased father or mother. The prohibition of entering into a funeral house is not only related to the taint of paganism they preserve¹⁶ but also to the forthcoming disaster caused by the worship of other gods (Jer 16:11-13). The worship of other gods could influence their funeral ceremony. This worship, in this context, leads to disaster for the whole nation. The day of disaster is described as the horror of mass death.¹⁷ Thus they will not be able to mourn and bury them all, even the deceased father or mother. In this context *למנוחה* is not translated "to the dead".

(2) The passage in Jeremiah 22:10 talks about the prohibition of weeping and mourning for a dead king Josiah, who died at Megiddo (cf. 2 Kgs 23:29-35; 2 Chr 35:25).¹⁸ This prohibition is contrasted with the living who are exiled. The dead will be gathered to his fathers in accordance with the funeral rites of the community, but the deported one will die there and not be buried in the family tomb. The setting for this lament is a royal funeral.¹⁹ The people weep and mourn for the dead king. The word *למנוחה* should be translated "for the dead", not "to the dead". There is no indication of the worship of a king in Israel.²⁰

(3) The passage in Deuteronomy 14:1-2 can be regarded as part of a funeral rite (cf. Jer 16:5-7). This is the prohibition of certain mourning rites, probably due to the influence of foreign religion.²¹ In addition to mourning, self-laceration and shaving of the hair were added to the funeral rite. They are probably associated with practices and belief of the fertility rite.²² To call Israel sons of Yahweh indicates its association with

¹⁶ Roland de Vaux, *Ancient Israel: Its Life and Institutions* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1961), 59.

¹⁷ William L. Holladay, 470.

¹⁸ Charles L. Feinberg, 125.

¹⁹ P. C. Craigie, *Jeremiah 1-25* (Waco; Texas: Word Books, 1991), 304.

²⁰ Klaas Spronk, 250.

²¹ P. C. Craigie, *The Book of Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 229.

²² *Ibid.*, 229.

the prohibition of the worship of other gods and Baal (Hos 11:1-2). Other gods are not called "the dead", but Baal is called "the dead".²³ However, in this text, there is no indication that a fertility rite for Baal is involved. Baal never shows up in the text. The scene is mourning for a dead human.²⁴

(4) Thus our text *וְלֹא־נָחֲרִי מִמֶּנּוּ לֶמֶחַ* can be translated as "I have not offered any of it for the dead". Since a tithed food is the central theme in this unit, we can interpret that he has offered other foods for the dead because he has not offered a tithed food for the dead. If so, the provision of ordinary food for the dead means that foods are provided for the mourners of the dead. In the funeral ceremony, in general, one's neighbours or friends bring foods and the "cup of consolation" for the relatives of the deceased (2 Sam 3:35; Jer 16:7; Eze 24:17), as the food in the mourners' house is unclean.²⁵ Therefore, we can argue that in the above text he has not eaten and touched the tithed food which has been offered by others in mourning for the dead; and in the cases of others he has not offered its food to them. But he has offered other foods for the mourners of the dead.

²³ Ibid., 323.

²⁴ Brian B. Schmidt, 172.

²⁵ J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 406; Roland de Vaux, 60.

2.4. Ruth 4:10

I have also acquired Ruth the Moabite, the wife of Mahlon, to be my wife, **to maintain the dead man's name** on his inheritance, in order that the name of the dead may not be cut off from kindred.

להקים שם-המת (to maintain the dead man's name) is one of the purposes of the levirate marriage,²⁶ which has been asserted to be a way in which a son would take care of ancestor worship.²⁷ The levirate marriage²⁸ in this book is described as the legal system by which the marriage of a man who dies before he has produced a son must be continued by one of his kinsman-redeemers, because no brother-in-law is available. In this sense Boaz's first son must be reckoned as the son of Mahlon and consequently would be Elimelech's grandson. The legalising transaction would focus on the name of the dead (Mahlon), which should be maintained and not be cut off. But the name of the dead is not included, rather his kinsman-redeemer (Boaz) is listed in the family line. In other words, Mahlon is a dead son and is not listed in the genealogy even after the levirate marriage in this book. Mahlon who is not listed in the family line cannot be assumed to worship his deceased father Elimelech who is also not listed in the family line. Therefore, the assertion that a son of the levirate marriage would take care of ancestor worship to the deceased father cannot stand.²⁹

²⁶ Gerhard von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1966), 154.

²⁷ Theodore J. Lewis, 119. He maintains that the levirate marriage grew out of ancestor worship.

²⁸ The assertion that Leviticus 18:16 and 20:21 refers to the levirate marriage is groundless, because both are talking about illegitimate sexual intercourse with one's sister-in-law. Numbers 27:1-11 states that the daughters of the deceased father plead the continuation of their father's name and inheritance. This case shows their own plan to carry it out without that marriage.

²⁹ Klaas Spronk asserts that the reason for this institution is given in Deuteronomy 25:6, "so that the name may be not blotted out of Israel" and this law may have been to restrict the tendency of incest, and not as a measure against ancestor worship (p. 38). Roland de Vaux mentions that this marriage can also be regarded as a measure to protect the widow (pp. 72-74). Neither is correct in interpreting Ruth 4:10.

2.5. 1 Samuel 20:5-6, 29

David said to Jonathan, "Tomorrow is the new moon, and I should not fail to sit with the king... If your father misses me at all, then say, "David earnestly asked leave of me to run to Bethlehem, his city; for there is a yearly sacrifice there for all the family" (5-6). He said, "let me go; for our family is holding a sacrifice in the city, and my brother has commanded me to be there (29).

This passage is a dialogue between Jonathan and David in which David asks to go home for a family gathering. In the text the command of his elder brother, instead of his father, to call upon David for such an important family meeting may suggest that Jesse had already died. The fact that in the absence of a father his sons gather together yearly for a family sacrifice suggests that it might be ancestor worship. For this examination, we will consider three things.

(1) Bethlehem (בֵּית־לֶחֶם) is David's and his elder brothers' hometown. It was there that David shepherded his father's sheep (1 Sam 17:12) and the sons of Jesse were enrolled for fighting against the Philistines and Amalekites (1 Sam 17:13). Moreover, David's ancestors were buried in the town of Bethlehem. Thus Bethlehem in this context is the place where he and his brothers and their children have lived and also the place where his ancestors were buried. In this context it was normal for a man to be buried in the tomb of the father (Gen 25:9-10; 4:29-32; 50:13; Jdg 8:32; 32:31; 2 Sam 2:32; 17:23). There should have been tombs of Jesse, the father of David and his brothers, and Obed, the father of Jesse (cf. Ruth 4:22). Gathering together with all the family in the tomb is the first condition pointing towards an element of the practice of ancestor worship.

Was there a sanctuary for sacrificial worship in Bethlehem? In fact, there was no sanctuary for it. In 1 Samuel, there are four sanctuaries mentioned: (i) Gilgal was the place where Samuel judged Israel, because there was a sanctuary where sacrifices were offered. The people attended worship (1 Sam 7:16). (ii) In Shiloh there was a sanctuary where the priest Eli and his sons served (1 Sam 1:3, 9). It was there that Yahweh was first called "Sabaoth, who sits above the Cheribim" (1 Sam 1:3). Its significance suggests that the ark was taken from Shiloh to the battle-front during the Philistine war. (iii) In Misphah there was a sanctuary. Israel met together there, called on the name of Yahweh, poured out water in supplication and offered a sacrifice to Yahweh (1 Sam 7:5-12). Samuel judged Israel there (1 Sam 7:16). (iv) In Bethel there was a sanctuary

which was said to have been founded by the patriarchs (Gen 28:10-22; 35:1-9). The people went on pilgrimage there, poured oil on a stele and paid tithes. The tradition enshrined in Judges 20:18, 26-28 21:2 tells how men gathered before Yahweh at Bethel, offered him sacrifices and consulted him (1 Sam 10:3).

As noted, Samuel as the itinerant priest goes around the four sanctuaries and performs a cultic service. The cultic performance to the Lord by Samuel in David's home in Bethlehem does not persuade us that there was a sanctuary as such. It is a unique experience. Just once Samuel visited the house of Jesse in Bethlehem in order to anoint David as the new king of Israel, which was done secretly. Samuel's public purpose was to sacrifice to the Lord (1 Sam 16:1-13).

(2) A yearly sacrifice (זבח הימים) is a unique term which appears four times only in 1 Samuel to denote a family sacrifice (1 Sam 1:3, 21; 2:19; 20:6). In these references, there are two examples of family gatherings for sacrifices. Samuel's father took the whole family once a year to Shiloh, where the priest took care of the pilgrims and offered sacrifices for them. David's family also assembles yearly for sacrificial worship for themselves in Bethlehem, where there is no sanctuary. It must therefore be a family sacrifice at home (Ex 12:3-4, 46). A family sacrifice echoes the tradition of the Passover kept in every home: blood is poured and they are to eat meat roasted over the fire along with bitter herbs and bread without yeast. This family cult is called "the Passover sacrifice to the Lord" (Ex 12:27) and Israel is commanded to continue to commemorate it for generations to come (Ex 12:14). Another case of a family sacrifice is the New Moon, kept on the first day of every month, when offerings and libation were offered to Yahweh (cf. Num 28:11-15). In the text King Saul invited guests to dine with him at the new moon, and the meal had a religious character, for the guests had to be pure to take part (1 Sam 20:5, 18, 26). This festival is also described as the day of a yearly sacrifice on behalf of the clan of David (1 Sam 20:6).³⁰ Thus, David's annual family sacrifice at home is not ancestor worship, because the object of it is Yahweh, not the deceased father or grandfather.

(3) Family solidarity is a main factor in preparing for ancestor worship. The scene is vivid. The members of the family function cohesively. For the forthcoming family gathering the readiness for the homecoming is shown. The eldest son's authority,

³⁰ Roland de Vaux, 470.

which is equivalent to a father in his absence, is demonstrated and the elder brother's hierarchical position over the younger brother is also established. More significantly, family solidarity is more emphasised than royal faithfulness. Here it is also conceived that the obedience to a father (filial piety) can be more valued than commitment to the king (loyalty). David decided to miss the king's observance of the new moon when special offerings or meals were appointed and prepared for that day (cf. Num 28:11-15). Rather he wanted to go home for family solidarity and to obey the will of his deceased father. In fact David was an obedient son: he went on an errand to the battle-zone in obedience to his father (1 Sam 7:17-20). At this time David and his brothers gathered together for a family sacrifice to Yahweh.

2.6. 2 Samuel 18:18

Now Absalom in his lifetime had taken and **set up for himself a pillar** that is in the King's Valley, for he said, 'I have **no son to keep my name in remembrance**'; he called the pillar by his own name. It is called Absalom's Monument to this day.

Absalom's pillar is erected because he has no son to carry on his name after his death. The passage may indicate that there is a possibility of the practice of ancestor worship. It is asserted that a motive for the erection of such a monument suggests the worship of the dead,³¹ that is, ancestor worship in this context. Also it is argued that an ancestor cult is reflected in the words **הזכיר** and **שמי** in the text, that a son could have practised the ritual for his deceased father.³² For the solution two phrases must be examined properly.

(1) A pillar (**מצבה**) is used of an erected stone, denoting five meanings according to its context. (i) A pillar set up in Genesis 28:2-22, 35:14 is described with religious significance.³³ Jacob erected a pillar used as a pillow for the memorial of a theophany on the spot, called it Bethel and poured oil on it. On his second visit, he again set it up and offered a drink offering on it. This memorial pillar would become a cornerstone of Bethel. The house of God was a sanctuary to sacrifice to Yahweh. (ii) This pillar is

³¹ P. Kyle McCarter Jr., *II Samuel* (New York: Doubleday, 1984), 407; Henry P. Smith, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Samuel* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1899), 359.

³² Theodore J. Lewis, 119.

³³ G. Ch. Aalder, *Genesis* (Grand Rapids: Zondervan, 1981), 107, 108, 165; Roland de Vaux, 286.

usually associated with the worship of Baal and sometimes with other gods.³⁴ The fact that worship of such objects was forbidden for Israel (Ex 23:24; 34:13; Lev 26:1; Deut 7:15; 12:3; 16:22) indicates that they regarded it as such. But Israel broke that law (cf. 1 Kgs 14:23; 2 Kgs 17:10; 18:4; 23:14; 2 Chr 14:3; 31:1). (iii) A pillar set up in Genesis 31:45, 51-52 is denoted as the sign of a covenant, which sanctions a boundary that may not be transgressed with evil intention by any party to the contract.³⁵ The ceremonial meal at the site of this stone serves to seal their covenant. Jacob initially erected it and transacted the matter, and Laban declared that the pillar of stones would serve as a witness. That place is called Galeed, "the pillar of witness".³⁶ (iv) A pillar erected over Rachel's tomb (Gen 35:20) could be categorised as marking a gravestone or as a monument over the tomb.³⁷

The above cases, in which a pillar does not connote a religious rite of the dead, help to understand whether (v) the case of Absalom's pillar is involved with ancestral rites. Four aspects should be mentioned. First, he erected it for himself. In other words, a dying person built it for his death in advance. This is unique in the Old Testament. The above case of Rachel's tomb indicates that a living person built it for the dead, which is universal. Secondly, he named the pillar on his own. It is also unique that a dying person is named on it, instead of other's doing it. Thirdly, he erected it for the remembrance of his name. The case of Rachel's tomb suggests that her name is to be remembered by the name engraved on it, which is similar to the case of Absalom. Fourthly, the first three aspects are due to the fact that he has no son. It is expected that a son would do it, however, in this case there is no son. Thus a non-existent son cannot practise ancestor worship. The significance of "no son" in his case is a reflection of his penalty of God caused by his rebellious act against his father David. On the basis of our analysis Absalom's pillar could be regarded as a lesson of a son's duty to honour his father.

³⁴ Cf. Roland de Vaux, 285-86.

³⁵ Gerhard von Rad, *Genesis: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1972), 312.

³⁶ G. Ch. Aalder, 167.

³⁷ Roland de Vaux, 58. G. Ch. Aalder, 167; Cf. Gerhard von Rad, 341.

(2) The language of שם זכיר is a key to give us a better understanding of the text. These two words have an interrelated significance: a name is kept in memory.³⁸ The שם signifies first the existence and its implication, and the word זכיר is related to the cognitive connotation of reminding, remembering and recalling what is known or done within one's cognisance. For example, the words זכיר and שם in a related form are used to remember the name of Yahweh. The name, the God of fathers, is asked to be remembered by Israel, God's son from generation to generation. In the phrase, לדר דר זכר שמי לעלם וזה זכרי שמי are paralleled (Ex 3:15). This means that his name is given for his memory and in his memory is kept his name for ever. The emphasised name has a historical implication: the God of Abraham was introduced to Isaac, the God of Abraham and Isaac was introduced to Jacob, and likewise the God of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob was introduced to Israel. The significance of the name echoes the covenant of God made with the patriarchs. The name of God here is related to his existence and his covenant, and to remember it means to keep its significance in mind. Similarly it is evident that the name of father is to be kept in his son's memory. The early death of his three childless sons causes a serious breakdown of the family line which would maintain his memory (cf. 2 Sam 14:27). Thus, he built a pillar as a substitute. The named pillar itself acts to cause visiting relatives or viewers in passing to remember the name of the dead. Overall, we cannot find any indication that Absalom's pillar is associated with ancestor worship.

If שם זכיר is interpreted "to invoke the name" of the dead it implies necromancy. But even in this case there is no evidence that indicates a living son's or daughter's invocation of his deceased father. The passage in 1 Samuel 28:3-19, which describes how to invoke the spirit of the deceased, has nothing to do with ancestral rites. The procedure is as follows: (i) asking the medium to consult the dead; (ii) naming the one whom the customer wants to speak or listen to; (iii) the medium's consulting the dead with a loud voice; (iv) the dead emerges with an identifiable figure; (v) the medium talks to the customer about what is happening; (vi) the customer bows with his face to the ground and does obeisance; (vii) the customer receives an oracle from the dead. The motivation for these practices is that one could foretell future events and even manipulate them for one's benefit. These seven processes seem to be a quite complete

³⁸ Allen C. Myers (ed.), *The Eerdmans Bible Dictionary* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1987), 747.

practice because we cannot find a more detailed statement of it. Here the invocation of the name of the dead encompasses all procedures and aims at an oracle from the dead. If the consultation of the dead is said to be identified with ancestor worship we need to ask two questions. Does the dead refer to the deceased father? Of course, the deceased Samuel is neither Saul's father, nor is he the witch's father at Endor. Did the participants in the consultation of the dead offer anything as a sacrifice? There is no statement of giving food during, before or after the ritual. Saul just ate food after it because of his hunger.

2.7. Isaiah 65:2-4

I held out my hands all day long to a rebellious people..., who provoke me to my face continually, **sacrificing in gardens and offering incense on bricks; who sit inside tombs, and spend the night in secret places.**

In an oracle against Israel the people who performed the false sacrifices are convicted and punishment expected at the coming judgement. The passage boldfaced above could be assumed to be an expression of ancestor worship. They certainly worshipped, yet the object of worship needs to be identified.

(1) Sacrificing in the gardens (זבחים בגנות) implies that each family sacrifices in their own garden. The word זבח obviously indicates a cult of burning slaughtered animals, and this sacrifice can be identified if the usage of גנה is examined. Gardens (גנה) are portrayed as a place where a family plants trees for fruits (Eccl 2:5; Jer 29:5-6; Amos 9:14).³⁹ In other words gardens are a family property for their sustenance. The word גנה is not specifically connected with a cult. However, gardens in Isaiah 1:29-30 denote pagan worship. The double parallelism of gardens and oaks implies the Canaanite religion: you will be ashamed because of "sacred oaks" and you will be disgraced because of "the gardens", and you will be "like an oak" with fading leaves, "like a garden" without water. The gardens and the trees refer to a part of idol worship. Israel worshipped to have fruitful nature and sought to participate in the fertility rites of

³⁹ Robert P. Carroll, *Jeremiah: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1986), 556; Gerald Keown, et. al., *Jeremiah* (Waco; Texas: Word Books, 1987), 71; David Allan Hubbard, *Joel and Amos* (Leicester: IVP, 1989), 244.

Baal and Asherah (cf. Isa 17:8; 27:9; 57:1; 65:3; 66:17).⁴⁰ In Isaiah 66:17 gardens are associated with eating pork and mice. This is another description of a pagan cult. Pagan worship, probably the cult of Baal or Asherah, occupies both the sphere of family and the high places (2 Kgs 12:3; 21:3).

(2) Offering incense on bricks (מקטרים על־הלבנים) implies that each family performs a cult on a home-made altar in their garden. Obviously offering incense is a part of sacrificial worship. The brick (לבנה) is made of soil with straw for building cities and a tower (Gen 11:3; Ex 1:11-14), and it is used as substitute for stone (Gen 11:3). The brick could be easily made of clay in the garden for the family ritual, while the altar could be made of stones on a large scale for the community. It appears only one time for a place of sacrifice in the Old Testament, while the altar of stones (מזבח) is used hundreds of times to describe the place of worshipping Yahweh and several times the place of worshipping other gods elsewhere. This cult cannot be easily identified. However, this unique expression מקטרים על־הלבנים provides a clue. The observation that the cult of offering incense coupled with sacrificing appears four times in a formula term shows the place of its cult as "high place" (2 Kgs 12:3; 14:4; 15:4, 35).

(3) Sitting inside a tomb (הישיבים בכנרים) and spending the night in the secret places (בנצורים יליו) appears to suggest necromancy in which one contacts the spirits of the dead by spending the night in the cemeteries.⁴¹ Here a form of necromancy was combined with dream divination or what was known as incubation. The context underscores the polluting power not only of this ritual but also those associated with foreign gods.⁴² It is true that necromancy existed in ancient Israel.⁴³ A typical and detailed example is 1 Samuel 28:3-19 in that the mediums (אֹיִב) and spiritualists (יִדִּי) seem to do a work identical to the witch at Endor. The coupled terms אֹיִב and יִדִּי occur in many places (Lev 19:31; 20:6; Deut 18:11; 1 Sam 28:3, 9; 2 Kgs 21:6; 23:24; Isa

⁴⁰ John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah Chapters 1-39* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 110-111; John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33* (Waco; Texas: Word Books, 1985), 25.

⁴¹ John D. W. Watts, 343; Theodore J. Lewis, 159; Brian B. Schmidt, 262.

⁴² Brian B. Schmidt, 263.

⁴³ In his commentary on Deuteronomy ([New York: Abingdon, 1953], 487) G. E. Wright asserted that the custom of offering sacrifices to the dead did not exist. Similarly Roland de Vaux (p. 60) maintained that the cult directed toward the dead never existed in Israel. However, in his book Theodore J. Lewis investigates all the controversial passages in terms of necromancy, using Ugarit parallelism. He seems to confuse the difference between necromancy and ancestor worship.

8:19; 19:3). However, this cult known as necromancy is different from ancestor worship. Necromancy is a cult, in general, chiefly for an oracle or a divination from the dead with or without the help of the mediums, while ancestor worship is a cult directed toward the deceased father (or mother) for his or her memory, consultation and favours. Necromancy is not the same as the consultation of the deceased father: the former seeks a divination from the spirits of the dead; the latter consists of one-sided talk of the living person to the dead. In this text the language of father or mother or any family members is missing; rather the languages involved here focuses on necromancy. They "sit" on the tomb rather than "bow down to" or "beautify" or "clean" the tomb; they "spend" the night waiting for an oracle rather than "call" their father's name. Here ancestor worship cannot be seen.

3. Christian "Discontinuity Movement"

Many intellectuals and government officials in the late Choson dynasty branded Catholicism as a heresy, believing that it was a danger to the basis of a Confucian society. They thought that elements of Catholic doctrine conflicted with the basic ethical and ritual principles of Confucianism. The most controversial issue at that time was the question of the rituals of ancestor worship.⁴⁴

3.1. Catholic Response

Catholic Christian doctrine taught exclusive loyalty to God and allowed for "no salvation outside the church". This clashed directly with the central tenet of Confucianism, which demanded filial piety as an absolute value and urged people to make sacrifices to ancestors. The position of the church was that the converts should obey God rather than human beings. The church stood against Confucian loyalty. The instruction from the bishop in China was that Christians must not participate in Confucian rites.⁴⁵ The Korean Catholics not only rejected funerals and mourning according to the Confucian way but also abolished the ancestral rituals and burned ancestral tablets.

⁴⁴ The Institute of Korean Church History Studies, *A History of Korean Church* vol. 1, (Seoul: The Christian Literature Press, 1989), 76-80.

⁴⁵ A Chinese Catholic view on ancestor worship is necessary to be mentioned because the Korean Catholics received and practised it. At the initial stage the Catholic mission was very successful, for the strategy of the Jesuits was of its accommodation. Matteo Ricci (1552-1610) and others diligently sought to reach the upper class intellectuals with understanding that the worship of ancestors and Confucius are social ceremonies. Thus there was no conflict. However, when the Dominicans and the Franciscans came to China in the 17th century, they disagreed with the Jesuits and strongly fought against the Chinese traditional worship of Confucius and the ancestors. They reported their different cases and opinions to the Pope for the solution. Pope Clement XI, on 20th November 1704, approved a decree (*"Ex illa die"*) which totally forbade the worship of Confucius and ancestors. As a result of it, Emperor Kang Shi of Ching dynasty, who previously held a favourable attitude toward Roman Catholic beliefs, was greatly angered by this decree, and he signed a decree forbidding all activities of the Roman Catholics in China. The succeeding emperors also firmly held this position. So Roman Catholic ministry, which had been prospering during the Ming and Ching dynasties, suddenly came to a halt due to the issue of ancestor worship. Although "Eight Special Permission" of Carlo Mazza-burla as a possible reconciliation to the emperor was issued immediately to show a great measure of acceptance and tolerance, it was too late. At this crucial time, a pastoral letter from Bishop Gouvea in Peking in 1790, which supported the Vatican's prohibition of the rites, was brought to Korea by Yu-il Yun and as a result Korean Catholics accepted a view of exclusivism. Cf. Lin Chi-Ping, "Ancestor Worship: The Reaction of Chinese Churches", Bong Rin Ro (ed.), 150-51; Daniel J. Adams, "Ancestor, Folk Religion and Korean Christianity", Mark R. Mullins and Richard Fox Young (eds.), *Perspectives in Christianity in Korea and Japan* (New York: The Edwin Mellen Press, 1995), 96-97.

Particularly the abolition of ancestral rites and the burning of ancestral tablets were a determined act of their faith and an act of revolution to the state. Few Catholics compromised and many of them even faced the death penalty without fear. The first Christian, Pum Wu Kim, who burnt ancestral tablet was persecuted by the clan and the society. This issue was further intensified when a man of Confucian noble class, Chichung Yun (1759-1791) and his cousin Sam-yon Kwon burned an ancestor tablet and abolished ancestral rites for Yun's deceased mother. Relatives and villagers attending the funeral ceremony branded them as undutiful offspring and reported them to the authority. Both were arrested, tried for treason against the state and beheaded. Yun testified at the court: "It is against the cause of the reverence of the Heavenly Lord to disobey his command when one believes him to be a great father. The religion of the Heavenly Lord bans the tablet of a deceased person in the household of the nobility. Therefore, I would rather be guilty before the persons of noble birth than before the Lord of Heaven, and I buried it under the ground in my house. The religion of the Heavenly Lord also forbids the offering of wine and food" (*Chongjo Sillok* [The veritable record of King Chongjo] 48:481Ua).

(1) The Catholic prohibition of ancestral tablets in the initial stage was due to two reasons. First, it is believed that the tablet cannot be called one's parent and it is only a piece of wood carved by a carpenter. The second is that the soul of a dead man does not reside in anything physical. "As Catholic prohibits the honouring of ancestral tablets, I, so long as I follow that religion, have to obey its orders...But ancestral tablets are made of wood and have nothing to do with me in terms of flesh, blood and life. The souls of my father and grandfather, once having left this world, do not reside in any material."⁴⁶ This refusal depended upon the interpretation that the tablet signifies the resting place of the soul rather than the image of the invisible soul. This interpretation is believed to have been influenced by certain Dominicans and Franciscans, who found superstitious elements affected by Taoism and indigenous faith. Jesuit missionaries, on the other hand, permitted the use of ancestral tablets by interpreting them as the image of the soul rather than the resting place of the soul.⁴⁷

⁴⁶ Ung-yol An and Suk-woo Choi, *History of Catholicism in Korea* vol. 1 (Pundo Publishing Co., 1979), 329-330.

⁴⁷ Ki-bok Choe, "The Abolition of Ancestral Rites and Tablets by Catholicism in the Choson Dynasty and the Basic Meaning of Confucian Ancestral Rites", *KJ* 24:8 (1984), 48.

(2) The Catholic church prohibited the Confucian ancestral rites perceiving them as superstitions that physical food cannot feed the soul, and that offering food to the dead is an empty formality. "To serve liquor and food to the dead...is also prohibited by Catholicism...However excellent and delicious liquor and food may be, they cannot nourish the soul as a non-materialistic being is not fed by material food...To offer foods to them after death cannot but be a useless and false act."⁴⁸ Many Catholics, like Yun, tore down and burned their ancestral tablets and abolished ancestral rites. Catholic converts who failed to observe ancestral rites were branded as ungrateful sons and daughters and expelled from the clans and the society. As a result, King Chongjo (r. 1776-1800) issued an edict banning Catholicism from Korea and ordering all Western publications burned. Catholics suffered from intense persecutions and thousands of them were imprisoned, tortured and martyred.⁴⁹ The persecution took place for one century from the end of the eighteenth century to the end of the nineteenth century.⁵⁰

However, in 1939 Pope Pius XII allowed the Chinese Catholic church to do the ancestral rites, and in the following year the Korean Catholics permitted believers to do them. For the Korean Catholics, the issue over ancestor worship had come to an end.⁵¹ Particularly since the Second Vatican Council, the Catholic church in Korea has taken the initiative on the reinterpretation of the traditional custom in a way that is viable in contemporary society. The following statement is a reminiscent of tragic memories involving the cult of ancestors in Korea: "Those who, through no fault of their own, do not know the gospel of Christ or his church, but nevertheless, seek God with a sincere heart, and, moved by grace, try in their actions to do his will as they know it through the dictates of their conscience - those too may achieve eternal salvation".⁵² With this change of direction there have been efforts by national churches to relate authentic Christian belief to the lives of people.

⁴⁸ Ung-yol An and Suk-woo Choi, 329-330.

⁴⁹ Cf. James H. Grayson, 181.

⁵⁰ Daniel J. Adams, 97.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² It is quoted by Chai-sik Chung, 16.

This has led to the reinterpretation of the traditional ancestral cult in a way that honours what it has meant to Korean people. "Common Directions of Korean Mission" (*Directorium commune missionum coreae*, 15 November 1958) no longer banned ancestral rites. It stipulated that one may pay respect, make a low bow or even prostrate oneself before a dead body, a tomb or a picture or tablet bearing the name of a dead person. Furthermore, food offerings before the picture or tablet of dead parent were permitted as long as they were seen as nothing more than a symbolic gesture of expressing grief or love for the dead.⁵³ Recently, "Korea Catholic Ministerial Directions" reconfirmed that the fundamental spirit of the rites is to repay one's ancestors by sacrifice and offer a return for the benefits received from parents.⁵⁴

3.2. Protestant Response

Like early Catholics, early Protestants rejected the observance of ancestor rites from the beginning. That they did not face fearful persecution by the Confucian government made it easier for them to refuse it than for the Catholics. However, early Protestant Christians underwent the social pressure, when they faced the most critical issue of ancestor worship. The missionaries took the position that the rites were contrary to Christian faith. Christians followed their teachings and one said, "For me, of course, I must remember my parents, but offering sacrifices to them is, I know, foolishness."⁵⁵ They were secretly baptised, and his family was not made aware of his conversion, but his neglect of traditional duties placed them under public suspicion. All catechumens from 1891 to 1897 were required to observe seven rules, the first of which was: "Since the Most High God hates the glorifying and worshipping of spirits, follow not the custom of the honouring of ancestral spirits, but worship and obey God alone."⁵⁶

The vast majority of Protestants continue to reject participation in the ancestral rites. Among them, there are some prominent figures. (i) Sung Koo Chung asserts that filial piety is applicable only to the living parents, not to the deceased, because the dead is not a person. Therefore, preparation of food and bowing to the deceased are

⁵³ Chai-sik Chung, 17.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, 18.

⁵⁵ L. George Paik, 220.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, 225.

contradictory of the commandment. (ii) Jong Yun Lee affirms that ancestor worship is not an expression of filial piety but a religious act of praying about the blessing from the ancestors. He concludes that ancestor worship is idol worship, quoting Paul's statement "What pagans sacrifice they offer to demons and not to God. I do not want you to be partners with demons" (1 Cor 10:20). (iii) Jong Dae Kim maintains that it is not right to bow down to the deceased ancestors because they are not the object of worship, and that they should not be idolised.⁵⁷ Here the question of whether ancestral rites is idolatry must have been examined in the light of the early missionaries' theology and the Korean Protestant tradition. It is certain that many Protestants regarded the ancestral rites as the actual worship of the spirits of the ancestors and not merely the veneration of the ancestors.

However, there are those who raised their voices against the majority position. (i) One of the earliest was Yong-tai Pyun who was later to become prime minister of Korea. In his book *My Attitude toward Ancestor Worship*, Pyun was in favour of Christians participating in the ancestral rites, criticising the early missionaries as being ethnocentric and ignorant of Korean traditions, and the early converts as naïve followers of the missionaries.⁵⁸ He defined bowing to the deceased as a gesture of respect, not as an act of worship, and he preferred the term "ancestor commemoration" to ancestor worship.⁵⁹ (ii) Another critic of the majority position was Sung Bum Yun, a Methodist theologian. Like Pyun, Yun believed that the ancestral rites were simply an expression of filial piety and were not in any religious sense in nature. He claimed that "bowing to ancestral tablets is not idol worship though it may seem so. It must be asked of showing respect to the national flag is idol worship."⁶⁰ He asserted that the early missionaries and their converts were too much preoccupied with the Old Testament view of idol as literal objects of wood and stone, and that the missionaries did not

⁵⁷ Myung-hyuk Kim, "Historical Analysis of Ancestor Worship in the Korean Church", Bong Rin Ro (ed.), *Christian Alternatives to Ancestor Practice* (Seoul: Word of Life & Asia Theological Association, 1985), 171-173.

⁵⁸ Yong-tai Pyun, *My Attitude toward Ancestor-Worship* (Kyung-sung: Dongyang Seowon, 1926), 26-29.

⁵⁹ Ibid., 7.

⁶⁰ Sung Bum Yun, "Korean Christianity and Ancestor Worship", *KJ* 13:2 (1973), 17-21.

understand the real nature and purpose of the rites.⁶¹ (iii) Sun Whan Pyun, who is noted as a champion of the interfaith dialogue, addressed his view on ancestor worship: "Ancestor worship is a social product of a large family system. To express filial piety and perform sacrifices is following the Heaven designated ethics. Ancestor worship is an expression of filial piety, not an idolatry."⁶² These trends provide a controversial theological or missiological debate as to what indegenisation is really meant. A greater emphasis on the priority of cultural legacy often results in the compromise or confrontation with Christian faith.

Recently the Protestant position on the issue of ancestor rites in general, which was taken up in the 1984 General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church, became prevalent in Korea evangelical churches. The General Assembly identified three major issues. The first concerned spirits, both evil spirits and spirits as forces of nature. The second was the matter of idols. Most evangelical Christians understood that bowing to the dead person was equal to bowing to their spirits. The third issue was that bowing to deceased ancestors was regarded as idol worship, which breaks the first and the second commandments.⁶³

3.3. An Alternative: the Memorial Service

It is significant to note that the memorial service became an alternative to the ancestor worship. The Catholic church accommodated the Confucian ancestral rite in their memorial service. The memorial service includes (i) hymn, (ii) burning the incense and bowing to the picture in a food table, (iii) prayer, (iv) Bible reading, (v) sermon, (vi) prayer for the ancestors, (vii) eulogy of the deceased, (viii) doxology, (ix) farewell greetings, (x) prayer and (xi) sharing the food.⁶⁴ This service process is similar to the ceremony of ancestor rites, which includes: (i) bowing to the ancestral tablet, (ii) burning incense and pouring liquors, (iii) offering food and liquor, (iv) reading of a ritual prayer, (v) expressing the honour of the deceased parent, (vi) filling liquor again

⁶¹ Ibid., 18.

⁶² It is quoted by Myung-hyuk Kim, 173.

⁶³ Myung-hyuk Kim, 170-173.

⁶⁴ Keum-sik Lee, *A Contextualisation of Ancestral Rites and Its Missionary Task* (Unpublished M.A. Thesis of Hanshin University, Seoul, 1994), 59-60.

in cups, (vii) serving liquor and bowing, (viii) burning paper tablet paper and (ix) sharing food and liquor with participants.⁶⁵ In these two rituals, the main Catholic processes are fused with Confucian rituals: bowing to the deceased parent or tablet, offering food (or liquor), eulogy of the deceased and burning incense are essentially the same, and the objects of the ritual are the same, which are the deceased. Prayer for the ancestors, Bible reading and doxology are Catholic elements in the service. Particularly, sharing food provides a homogeneous atmosphere between non-Catholics and Catholics. Liquor and foods used for ancestral rites are shared by the families and relatives, which is designed as a festival for sharing identity with the soul and promoting harmony among families and relatives. This service is in continuity with Confucian rites. There could not be a heterogeneity of inculturation from the former into the latter.

However, many Protestants keep discontinuity with Confucian ancestral rites in holding memorial services (*chudo-yebe*) on the death-day of their ancestors. On this day the family and relatives, including ministers, gather for a Christian service that includes (i) silent prayer, (ii) Apostles' Creed, (iii) hymn, (iv) prayer, (v) Bible reading, (vi) sermon, (vii) prayer, (viii) eulogy of the deceased, (ix) special time (sing a song that the deceased liked, or listen to the tape of the deceased, or read the letters or writings of the deceased, etc.), (x) benediction.⁶⁶ All process are not related to the continuity with Confucian rites. There are no ancestral tablets on the table or on the wall and ancestral rites (bowing to the tablet or offering food or burning incense) in the site and the process. The object of the service is Jesus Christ. They are focused on the Christian faith. In prayer they ask God's special favours for every member of the family and express their joy that the deceased who was Christian will be at peace in heaven. Typically, long prayers often elicit responses of *amens* and sobs.⁶⁷ Eulogy of the deceased and the special time remind them of their parent's memory or Christian legacy. A sharing of the food is not included in the service in order to avoid the religious connotation of the food offering. After the service they share the prepared

⁶⁵ Daniel J. Adams, 102-103.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 112-113.

⁶⁷ Chai-sik Chung, 14.

food as a family party. This programme was carefully organised to meet the conditions of culture and Christian faith.

Conclusion

As noted, (1) at the time of the Protestant missions ancestor worship became meaningless politically due to the fall of the monarchy and weakened socially due to modernisation, although it had been practised for many centuries in Korea. This practice has been unable to adjust the needs of a modern age and has failed to gather the public support to accommodate its mandate. Although Protestants did not suffer imprisonment and martyrdom as did the Catholics, many new converts suffered at the hands of their families, and "many people were kept outside the church, not because of the prohibition struck at a religious belief, but because it threatened the social structure of the clan."⁶⁸ In spite of the threat of the social structure of the clan, early Protestant Christians discontinued ancestor worship.⁶⁹ At the present time the threats of family or relatives on this matter almost disappeared.

Now non-Christian families and relatives are not much concerned about the absence of Christian family members or relatives in their rituals or the omission of their ritual participation in their midst. Ancestor worship is no longer as serious an issue as it once was,⁷⁰ and this worship is not a stumbling block to evangelism, as it used to be. This phenomenon helped the people to accept the Gospel. It is noted that the Old Testament prohibited Israel from the practice of ancestor worship, and Israel did not practise it. Korean Christians believe that the first and the second commandments prohibited it. Cultural conditions and the Christian faith are well matched and they prove to be fruitful. Furthermore, Protestant Christianity can powerfully deal with this issue on social dimension. The majority of Christians oppose every form of ancestor worship, and this opposition is very influential in society, considering that Protestants are a fourth of the Korean population. Christians engaged in education, government,

⁶⁸ Roy E. Shearer, *Animism and the Church in Korea* (Unpublished M.A. Thesis of Fuller Theological Seminary, Pasadena; California, 1968), 93.

⁶⁹ Daniel J. Adams, 98.

⁷⁰ Kang-nam Oh, 307.

journalism and other societal fields do not encourage or draw attention to this rite. Rather they create a social atmosphere discouraging the continuation of this rite.⁷¹

(2) The memorial service became an alternative to the ancestral cult, which is very widely practised among Korean Christians. Catholic memorial services appear to be a mixture of the two traditions of Catholicism and Confucianism, but Protestant memorial services are not syncretistic accommodations but significant cultural orientation to sanctify this traditional rite in the light of the Christian gospel. There are three significant meanings of the Protestant memorial service.

First, it is an apologetic to non-Christians that Christians also keep the traditional culture of filial piety in their own way. This provides a twofold benefit: to keep it as a Christianised culture on the one hand and to avoid the accusation of non-Christians for not keeping it on the other hand. In the place of this service, all other secular arrangements are ruled out except for the placement of a picture of the dead and the flowers around it. Christian members join together to perform the memorial service with a leader of the family or an invited pastor. In the process, all are considered a Christian way of service and elicit the sympathy for Christians, while eulogy of the deceased, special time and memorial speech provide the sympathy for non-Christians. Non-Christians now seem to regard this service as a substitute of ancestor worship. There are common grounds in the service which can lead the two groups come together.

Secondly, it gives a dynamic Christian identity to Korean Christians among Confucian culture, highlighting biblical teachings concerning this matter. The followings are particularly emphasised: (i) a gratitude to God for giving of one's parents for their life, (ii) the consciousness of Christian genealogy, (iii) the appreciation and practice of filial piety, (iv) the consciousness of the family community of God, (v) God's will for one's life, (vi) Biblical eschatology and (vii) hope for resurrection and eternal life. Biblically faithful and culturally relevant combinations are made here. These all themes cover a major teaching of the Bible. Themes from (i) to (v) were Christian and biblically faithful out of Confucian themes, and themes (vi) and (vii) are of unique Christianity. This impact gives a dynamic Christian identity to Christians among Confucian culture. Furthermore, the service provides a missiological mandate to

⁷¹ Bong-ho Son, 243.

embrace non-Christians. Themes from (i) to (v) are seen as a cultural homogeneity which can lead non-Christians to Christianised accommodations for them. Open service to the family, relatives and friends who are non-Christian play a very important role in witnessing to the Christian faith.

Thirdly, it provides a starting point of a church-wide movement to accept the memorial service. It is expected to be an annual church activity on the traditional Korean festival called *chusok*. This is one of the most important days when Korean people visit their ancestor's grave to pay them and to give thanks for the autumn harvest. On this day Koreans eat cakes made from freshly harvested rice and other fruits of the earth. Although now the minority of the churches celebrate this, this movement of a small group, who observe this holiday in the spirit of thanksgiving to God, is beginning to influence all the Christians in Korea. This Christianisation of a local theme adopted from the tradition could be an interesting way to assimilate their faith into their own context and encourage the secular society to accept it as a Christian day.⁷²

⁷² Chai-sik Chung, 18-19.

CHAPTER FOUR: The Fulfilment of Filial Piety (II): Continuity with Filial Piety towards Yahweh the Father

Introduction

In chapters one and two we noted that filial piety is the central theme in the Confucian Classics and is stressed as a most important practice in early Korean literature. Chapter four attempts to demonstrate that this Confucian filial piety in both traditions is in continuity with biblical filial piety the Old Testament. We will develop our argument *first* by investigating whether Yahweh is described as a father and Israel is depicted as the son(s) of God. To examine what Yahweh's roles are in relation to Israel will give a clearer understanding of what the relationship between Yahweh and Israel is. *Secondly*, we will examine whether filial piety towards Yahweh the Father is emphasised, and if so, why and how it is emphasised in Exodus, Deuteronomy, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea and Malachi. These books all contain the father/son passages relevant to the discussion.

1. Yahweh and Israel: A Father-Son Relationship

The word אב (father) denotes a human father in relation to his son and it is also used to describe Yahweh as the Father.¹ In Deuteronomy a rhetorical question is asked, "Is not he your Father?" (Dt 32:6). Yahweh is presented as the Father of Israel (Dt 1:31; 8:5; 32:18). In Isaiah, Yahweh is the Father of Israel (Isa 1:2; 46:1-13; 51:2; 63:16; 64:8). On the other hand, בן (son) indicates a human son in relation to his father and it is also used to depict human beings as Yahweh's sons.² Israel is described as Yahweh's son (Isa 1:2; 63:16; 64:8). Furthermore, the phrases "sons" (Isa 1:2, 4), "rebellious sons" (Isa 30:1-5), "my sons" (Isa 43:6; 45:11; 63:8) and "sons of a witch" (Isa 57:3) are designated as Israel being Yahweh's sons in a positive and negative sense. In Jeremiah the father-son relation is clearly expressed: "Have you not just called me, Father?" (Jer 3:4), "I treat you like sons" (Jer 3:19), "I thought you would call me father" (Jer 3:19), "I am Israel's father and Ephraim is my firstborn son" (Jer 31:9), "Is

¹ Helmer Ringgren, "אב", G. Johannes Botterweck and Helmer Ringgren (eds.), *TDOT* vol. 1, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1974), 17.

² Christopher J. H. Wright, "בן", Willem A. VanGemeren (ed.), *NIDOTE* vol. 1 (Cumbria: Paternoster Press, 1984), 222.

not Ephraim my dear son?" (Jer 31:20) and "My sons are gone" (Jer 10:20). In addition Israel is called "faithless sons" (Jer 3:14, 22) and "stupid sons" (Jer 4:22). In Hosea, Yahweh called Israel his son out of Egypt (Hos 11:1) and cared for him (Hos 11:3-4). Malachi says that Yahweh declares himself the Father and Israel regards him as his father (Mal 1:6; 2:10).

Along with the nouns "father" and "son", several verbs (beget, carry, love, pity and discipline), which are used to describe human fathers, are used for describing Yahweh as a father. Furthermore, the fact that the verbs (rear and bring up) do not appear as a description of the role of a human father but appear as the role of God shows that the Old Testament describes God's fatherhood more meticulously than human fatherhood. We will have a closer look.

1.1. Yahweh the Father as the Begetter

Yahweh is depicted as the one who begets (יָלַד) Israel (Deut 32:18),³ which occurs only once in the Old Testament. But here the rock is used as the subject instead of Yahweh. The passage in the Song of Moses affirmed that Yahweh is the rock who has begotten his people (Deut 32:18). The reason that Yahweh is described as the rock seems to be related to the meaning of the rock. Normally the word "rock" in Old Testament refers to God as place of refuge (cf. Ps 18:2; 31:2; 61:2-3; 71:3), but here in Deuteronomy 32:18 it is used for emphasising the attributes of God, such as the stability, permanence and unchanging nature of Yahweh, contrasting with the unstable, changeable and fickle nature of Israel (Deut 32:4, 15, 18, 30, 31).⁴ Since the rock is

³ Joseph A. Alexander (*Commentary on the Prophecies of Isaiah* [Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976], 86) states that Yahweh's fatherhood is seen particularly in terms of begetting. Josef Schreier ("יָלַד", *TDOT* vol. 6, 78) mentions that the verb יָלַד is used in the majority of instances in the book of Genesis for the common denotation of a male "begotten" by a human father. In fact the "begetting" story is dominant and found particularly in Genesis. It begins with the first chapter of Genesis, relating how God created the cosmos in six days. At the close of this account we read the words: "This is the family line of" or "These are descendants of". This *toledoth* passage is repeated several times in Genesis and Exodus to introduce a list of names beginning with a patriarch or tribal father: Adam (Gen 5:1-32), Noah (6:9-10), the sons of Noah (10), Shem (11:10-26), Terah (11:27), Ishmael (25:12-16), Isaac (25:19-20), Esau (36:1-6; 36:9-43), and Jacob (37:1-20; Ex 1:1-5). Most cases of the verb occur in the context of formal genealogies as denoting an account of a man and his descendants or of genealogical calculation for the purpose of showing continuity and prosperity of his family line on the basis of divine promise of multiplication of descendants in general (Gen 2:28; 9:1) and of divine promise made to Abraham in particular (Gen 12:1-3). The begetter is related to the image of father rather than to that of mother.

⁴ P. C. Craigie, *Deuteronomy* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1976), 378.

used here as “begetter”, it as the subject also reflects the verb. Israel is expected to be a stable, permanent and consistent son of Yahweh. Moreover, in this verse (32:18) the parental imagery is used of Yahweh by a twofold line in poetic parallelism which describes him as a father who begot and as a mother who gave birth. The first meaning of a father is the begetter of his children, and then the father plays a role as the caretaker and disciplinarian.

1.2. Yahweh the Father as the Caretaker

(1) Yahweh is described as one who has reared (גִּדַּל) and brought up (רִיַם) his son Israel (Isa 1:2). “To rear and bring up” is the language used of parents in relation to their children: the former is the first act which parents do to their children and the latter is the follow up as children grow up. “To rear” or “to bring up” is reminiscent of the promise of God made to Abraham (Gen 12:2), although these verbs are not employed there. These verbs emphasise Israel’s peculiar position in history in the Old Testament.⁵

(2) Yahweh is portrayed as one who carries (נָשָׂא) Israel (Deut 1:31). The verb נָשָׂא is used for lifting up something with one’s hands (Num 1:50; Josh 3:8; 4:16) and to one’s shoulders (Isa 46:7; Eze 12:6). This word can depict a father carrying his young son in his arms or on his shoulders. The young son cannot walk well or for long on an unpaved road so that a father lifts him up to his shoulder and his son enjoys travelling in comfort and protection. It is clear in the mind of Israel that Yahweh would help them not only in the exodus from Egypt but also at times of the danger while on their journeys. In the terrors of the wilderness (Deut 1:19) Israel had experienced how God carried them just as a father carries his son. This expresses the protective care of a fatherly God.⁶

(3) Yahweh loves (אָהַב) his son Israel. Hosea 11:1 states that God loved Israel when he was a small son. The verb אָהַב is used for God’s loving Israel as the earthly father loves his son.⁷ The significance of the exodus tradition can be summed up as

⁵ Edward J. Young, *The Book of Isaiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 38.

⁶ P. C. Craigie, 103.

⁷ This verb is used on three occasions in which it expresses an earthly father’s love toward his son as bonding their intimate relationship. The patriarchs showed their affection toward their sons. Abraham’s love for Isaac could be beyond description. He begot him at a very old age as his only heir (Gen 22:2). The love for Isaac to Esau was also great, due both to Esau being the firstborn son, that is, the successor of his family line, and to his favourable attitude toward his father (Gen 25:27-28). Jacob’s special love

fatherly love toward his son (Ex 4:22-23). Deuteronomy uniformly expresses the relationship of love between Yahweh and his people. In fact a main theme of Deuteronomic preaching is that Yahweh loves Israel. Because of his love he has brought Israel out of Egypt with a mighty hand and redeemed him from the house of bondage (Deut 7:8; 10:15). Prophetic narratives often emphasise God's love for his sons Israel. Jeremiah 31:3 and Malachi 1:2 mention that the love of God continues regardless of Israel's response, whether of obedience or disobedience. However, Yahweh's love for Israel motivates him to save them (Hos 11:4; Jer 31:3; Isa 43:4; 63:9).

(4) Yahweh is portrayed as one who has compassion (רחם) on his son and those who fear him: "As a father has compassion on his sons, so the Lord has compassion on those who fear him" (Ps 103:13). This verb occurs once in the Old Testament in terms of the relationship between a father and a son, although it implies a motherly feeling for a child. Pity or compassion, one of characteristics of a father, describes Yahweh's fatherhood. As a father never deserts his son but forgives when the son does wrong, so God is compassionate to those who fear him.

1.3. Yahweh the Father as the Disciplinarian

Yahweh is described as one who disciplines (יסר) Israel (Deut 8:5). This verb is used for chastening a stubborn and rebellious son who does not obey his parents, in order not to be punished with death (Deut 21:18). Discipline is a father's education for the sake of his son (Prov 19:18; 29:17). The disciplinary action of God may involve admonition, correction and severity, but it is motivated by the love of God for his people. The wilderness' period was thus the time of adolescence in Israel's history. Adolescence and education in the ways of Yahweh may involve trials and hardship, but there was a prospect, beyond the growing pain, of the good land that was promised by God.⁸ A similar verb to "discipline" is "lead". Yahweh is represented as one who leads (הלך) Israel. Yahweh's leading them takes place in all circumstances, and is ready to enter into a situation of risk, vulnerability and exile (Deut 8:2-3). Yahweh tests Israel in

towards Joseph among his sons was expressed because he was the son of his old age and a son of his beloved wife (Gen 37:3).

⁸ P. C. Craigie, 186.

order to find out if Israel is loyal to him. A sojourn experience is a trial in order to measure Israel's faithfulness to Yahweh. The use of the verb "lead" is related to the additional verb "to humble you" as a purpose of disciplining them (Deut 8:2, 16; cf. Ex 15:5).

2. The Filial Piety of Israel towards Yahweh the Father

Honour and obedience (filial piety) are the most important acts of the son, Israel, in relation to his father Yahweh.⁹ (1) The word כָּבֵד is described as the first and absolute commandment that a human son (or a daughter) must give to his father and mother: "Honour your father and mother." (Ex 12:12; Deut 5:16). The meanings of כָּבֵד for a human father follow: (i) Honouring one's parents means making provision for their care in old age, ensuring that they had adequate material resources when they were no longer physically capable of maintaining themselves by daily work. (ii) Honouring one's parents also means following their faith. The covenant which God made with his people at Sinai is designated as following that of their fathers. Children are to receive the truth gratefully from their parents and to pass it on to their children. (iii) The word כָּבֵד means "honour", "glorify" and "respect" in dealing with someone. Thus כָּבֵד can be defined as honouring, glorifying, respecting, nourishing the father and following his faith in the God of his forefathers. This evidence that a human son is obliged to honour his father possibly supports his filial piety to do the same thing toward Yahweh the Father: "Honour the Lord" (Pro 3:9). As parents are to be honoured so Yahweh is to be honoured. In fact, כָּבֵד is used three times to describe filial piety for a human father (Ex 20:12; Deut 5:16; Mal 1:6), while it is used eight times to depict the filial piety of Israel for Yahweh (1 Sam 2:29, 30; 15:30; Pro 3:9; 14:31; Isa 29:13; 43:23; Mal 1:6).

(2) Obedience (שָׁמַע) is regarded as Israel's filial piety directed toward Yahweh. Obedience is the absolute behaviour that a son must do to his father.¹⁰ The verbal form of שָׁמַע appears in the patriarchal narratives in Genesis (Gen 28:7; 37:12-14). This verb

⁹ Cf. G. A. Lee, "Hear", Geoffrey W. Bromiley (ed.), *ISBE* vol. 2 (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 649; J. Daane, "Father", Geoffrey W. Bromiley (ed.), *ISBE* vol. 2, 285; J. H. Wright, "Family", David Noel Freedman (ed.), *ABD* vol. 2 (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 766.

¹⁰ G. A. Lee, 649; J. Daane, 285; J. H. Wright, 766. They all say that obedience is the most important aspect in the relationship of a son to his father. Wright and Daane also assert that obedience is the most important language of Israel as Yahweh's son in relation to his father Yahweh. Usually the common expression for שָׁמַע is to hear the voice of Yahweh that is to be obeyed. Such obedience is a filial response to Yahweh (Ex 19:5; Deut 13:4, 18; etc.).

means both the physical act of saying and the active response to what is heard.¹¹ The patriarchs are a pattern of obedient sons. (i) The fact that Isaac offered no resistance as his father bound him and lifted him up on the altar implies that he obeyed his father to death (Gen 22:10), although the verb “obeyed” is not used. (ii) Jacob “obeyed” his father Isaac (Gen 28:7), following his stipulation that he must not marry a Canaanite woman but get a wife in Paddam Aram. (iii) Joseph “obeyed” his father Jacob: he went on an errand as a response to his father’s concern for his sons (Gen 37:12-14) and followed the instruction of his father that he had to be buried at his favourite place (Gen 49:20-50:5; 50:12). (iv) What is important in the patriarchal narratives is that Abraham, the ancestor of Israel, “obeyed” God (Gen 22:18). As a reward for Abraham’s obedience he is reassured of the promises that he had been previously given. The obedience of Abraham is a prototypical filial piety of Israel toward the Lord.

2.1. Exodus

The description of Israel as the son(s) of Yahweh, though it appears just in one passage, is very important to understand the purpose of the book: Israel fulfilled the sacrificial worship to Yahweh as commanded.

Thus says the Lord: **Israel is my firstborn son**. I said to you, ‘**Let my son go that he may worship me**’ (Ex 4:22-23).

The phrase “he (they) may worship (serve) me” (וַיַּעֲבֹדֵנִי) suggests that Israel is supposed to worship Yahweh. The words עָבַד (worship) and כָּבֵד (honour) are similar in terms of offering sacrifices to Yahweh (1 Sam 2:29; Pro 3:9; Isa 29:13; 43:23; Mal 1:6). The verb עָבַד is used to apply to Yahweh as the object of worship (Ex 3:12; 4:23; 7:16; 8:1, 20; 9:1, 13; 10:3, 7, 8, 11, 24, 26; 12:31), but after the exodus, the verb is emphasised to describe as a command not to worship foreign gods but to worship God (23:25; 24:1). This verb is also associated with the people, who are “young” and “old” (10:8), “men”, “women” and “children” (10:24), with the place, “on this mountain” (3:12), “in the desert” (5:1; 7:16), with animals (10:9, 24) and giving “sacrifices” and “burnt

¹¹ G. A. Lee, 649.

offering" (10:25). The worship of Yahweh in this book, therefore, can be defined as Israel giving burnt offerings of animals to Yahweh in the desert or on Mount Sinai.

2.1.1. Preparations for the Worship of Yahweh

From a command to worship (Ex 4:22-23) to the actual performance of sacrificial worship (Ex 40:29), all activities between these two events are involved in preparing for the worship of Yahweh.

First, Yahweh himself is deeply involved in the delivery of Israel from Egypt. The worship of Yahweh is consistently linked with the verb שלח (let go) which is employed in forty-five verses in chapters 3-12. Among them, the paired verbs שלח (let go) and עבר (serve), ילך (deliver) and נבח (sacrifice) occur thirteen and ten times respectively to present the same purpose of worshipping Yahweh. In addition the phrase "Let my son go that he may worship me" (4:23) and the similar phrase "Let my people go that they may worship me" (Ex 5:1; 8:1, 20; 9:1, 13; 10:3, 7) occurs at crucial times for describing the purpose of the exodus. (i) The initial call and commission of Moses in Midian is associated with Israel's worship of Yahweh (3:12). (ii) On his return to Egypt, the same commission is given in a different words. (4:23). (iii) The first attempt to deliver the message of God results in failure and causes a heavier burden upon Israel so that they complain to Moses (5:1). (iv) The commission results in the plagues of blood (7:16), frogs (8:1), flies (8:20), death of livestock (9:1), hail (9:13) and locusts (10:13). When God demands obedience, at the same time there is the threat of punishment for disobedience. The demand is to let Israel go and worship, and the conditional threat is the plague. (v) His officials appeal to Pharaoh to let Israel go and worship (10:7), and as a response he commands them all to go and worship Yahweh (10:8). (vi) The idea of "letting go and worship" is emphasised and his obedience results in the plague of darkness (10:24). (vii) The last plague, that God would kill Pharaoh's firstborn son, accomplishes the deliverance of his firstborn son from Egypt for worship in the wilderness.

Secondly, Yahweh instructs Israel how to worship him. The Decalogue gives instructions for the worship of Yahweh: (i) The exclusive worship of Yahweh is emphasised by way of forbidding any association with other gods in the first commandment. Monotheolatriy and mono-Yahwehism are stressed. (ii) The second commandment is that Israel is not to worship other gods at all. This commandment

contains four specifications of how Yahweh is to be worshipped: a prohibition of the use of images in the worship of Yahweh, a prohibition of worshipping other gods, a promise of punishing the children of those who worship other gods, and of loving those who keep the commandments and obey him as the conditional threat and reward for the enforcement of worshipping God. (iii) The third commandment deals with every occasion of misuse of Yahweh's name, which is given to Israel as an expression of his presence. He is not subject to the manipulation of his worshippers. Thus his name must be honoured, blessed and praised in worship.¹² (iv) The fourth commandment is also associated with the worship of Yahweh. The verb "remember" indicates that it was conceived not only with the day of rest but also with an active participation in worship.¹³ The keeping the Sabbath "holy" implies also a day set apart to Yahweh, avoiding labour. (v) The fifth commandment is related to worshipping God. The verb "honour" is used both of parents (Ex 20:12; Deut 5:16) and of Yahweh (Prov 3:9) as the object. Children are to receive the lesson of honouring God from their parents and to pass it on to their children as well.¹⁴ (vi) The fifth commandment is significant because it occurs in the middle point between the first four commandments, which inculcate proper worship for Yahweh, and the last five commandments, which deal with relations between neighbours.¹⁵ This produces a worshipping community in which the presence of the Lord can take place.

Furthermore, Yahweh's instructions for cultic ritual are contained in a lengthy section (Ex 25-31).¹⁶ At Sinai, Yahweh commands Moses to tell that they should bring offerings of the various materials that will be offered for the tabernacle and its furnishings (25:19). Instructions are given for the ark (25:10-22), the table (25:23-30), the lampstand (25:31-40), the tabernacle (25:1-31), the altar (27:1-8), the tabernacle court (27:9-19), the priest's vestments (28:1-43), the altar of incense (30:1-10), the atonement money (30:11-16), the basin for washing (30:17-21), the anointing oil and

¹² John I. Durham, *Exodus* (Waco; Texas: Word Books, 1987), 228.

¹³ R. E. Clements, *Exodus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 124.

¹⁴ Raymond Brown, *The Message of Deuteronomy* (Leicester: IVP, 1993), 87.

¹⁵ J. P. Hyatt, *Exodus* (London: Oliphants, 1971), 213; John I. Durham, 290.

¹⁶ John I. Durham, 349.

the special formula incense (30:22-38), the designation of the artisans (31:1-11) and keeping the Sabbath (31:12-18).

Thirdly, Israel obeyed Yahweh's instructions to establish the media for worship, according to the instructions given to Moses at Sinai (35:1-40:38). This section consists of the process of making it possible to worship: the offering of the materials and the work of the people (35:1-36:7), the construction of the tabernacle (36:8-38), the construction of the ark, the table, the lampstand, and the altar of incense (37:1-29), the construction of the altar of wholly-burned offerings, the basin, and the tabernacle court (38:21-31), the making of the sacral vestments (39:32-43) and finally the tabernacle set up (40:1-33).

2.1.2. Israel Worshipped Yahweh

The actual practice of sacrificial worship to Yahweh in chapter 40, which is the conclusion to the entire book, is the most important work among Moses' activities in the tabernacle, such as setting up the ark, the table, the lamp stand, the golden altar, the basin and the courtyard in place (Ex 40:17-33). Eventually Moses honoured Yahweh by offering sacrifices to Yahweh as he was commanded.

He set the altar of burnt offering at the entrance of the tabernacle of the tent of meeting, and offered on it the burnt-offering and the grain-offering as the Lord had commanded Moses (Ex 40:29).

The above passage signifies several things. First, it is the first occasion in the book of Exodus that the actual worship of Yahweh was fulfilled in the tabernacle as it was expected from the beginning (Ex 8:27). In the four earlier occasions of worship Israel seems to have worshipped Yahweh without the involvement of sacrificial offerings: when the elders of the people heard the news of the deliverance of Israel from Egypt from Moses and Aaron (4:29-31); when the elders of Israel are ordered to worship at a distance at the time of confirming the covenant (24:1); whenever the people saw the pillar of cloud standing at the entrance to the tent (33:10); when Moses bowed down at once at the time of remaking the two tablets (34:8). However, one occasion is associated with sacrificial offering, when the people of Israel heard the instructions for the Passover ceremony at the very day of Passover (12:27). But this worship occurred

before the time of the completed tabernacle. The Passover sacrifice in each family anticipates the future worship of Yahweh in the wilderness.

Secondly, it is also the first occasion in this book that Moses could not enter the Tent of Meeting because the cloud covered it and the glory of the Lord filled the tabernacle (Ex 40:34). This occasion is different from the other occasions when Moses encountered the glory of the Lord which appeared as a cloud. The first time is when he encountered it before the people in the desert, when they complained about the absence of meats (16:10). The second one is when he encountered it before the people on Mt. Sinai where he received the Ten Commandments (19:9-10). The third one is when he encountered it on Mt. Sinai where he continued to receive the instructions of Yahweh and the people looked at it (24:15-18). The fourth is when it was at the Tent of Meeting every time he talked with God, while the people watched over it (33:9-11). But he could not enter the Tent of Meeting when he finished the sacrificial worship in the tabernacle as the Lord commanded him. It seems that the worship of Yahweh was fulfilled, and he was glorified by it at last. In other words, the filial piety of Israel toward Yahweh was fulfilled and he was honoured by his son.

Thirdly, it is the fulfilment of the passage found in 4:22-23. The long narratives of the exodus from Egypt (Ex 1:1-15:21),¹⁷ the sojourn in the wilderness (Ex 15:22-18:27),¹⁸ the covenant at Sinai, the instructions of Yahweh for cultic performance, and

¹⁷ Exodus 1:1-15:21 describes the deliverance of Israel from Egypt. (1) The introduction (1:1-22) provides a clue to what is leading to the inevitable sequence of the exodus, showing a brief connection between events of the patriarchal age in Genesis and the account of the oppression in Egypt. (2) Chapters 2:1-6:30 deal with God's preparations for the deliverance of Israel through a deliverer, Moses. The birth (2:1-10), the call and the commission (3:1-4:17) of Moses are of the most significant events for the exodus, for he receives God's commission to deliver them. (3) Chapters 7:1-13:16 demonstrate the miracles as necessary accompaniments to the mighty act of deliverance by which God would bring forth Israel from Egypt. The coercive measures taken by God to break down Egyptian resistance to his demands took the form of ten plagues: the water turned into blood; frogs were swarmed and invaded the land; lice infected man and beast; the land was full of swarms of insects; pestilence struck the livestock in the field; man and beast suffered skin diseases; hail lashed the countryside; locusts descended in destructive forces; Egypt was in darkness for three days; all the male firstborn of Egypt died at midnight. (4) Chapters 13:17-15:21 begin with a general statement of the departure and the reason why the people went through the wilderness of the Red Sea. They are led by pillars of cloud and fire by day and night. When the Egyptians pursue them, Israel complains to God and Moses promises that Yahweh will fight for them (14:5-20). The crossing of the Red Sea (14:21-31) is finalised as the exodus from Egypt. The songs of Moses and Miriam (15:1-21) confirm the fulfilment of the exodus.

¹⁸ Exodus 15:22-18:27 depicts the middle period between the deliverance from Egypt and the arrival at Sinai. The absence of the verbs "let go" and "worship" in this section points out that Israel are on the way to Mt. Sinai. This means a transitional time between the fulfilment of letting go and the anticipation of worshipping God at Sinai. In this interval period a few episodes demonstrate God's ability to sustain his people. They include the provision of water at Marah (15:22-25) and at Rephidim, where Moses struck the rock (17:1-7); the sending of food, both quails and manna (16:1-36) and Israel's victory over the

the obedience of Israel in establishing the media for worship, consummate the actual performance of worship. In other words all the narratives are preparations for the worship of Yahweh and chapter 40:29 shows the realisation of these preparations: Israel followed Moses, obeyed the instructions of Yahweh and finally worshipped him. All the previous procedures aim at the moment of this worship.

Fourthly, after sacrificial worship we can see that their travels are at the mercy of the moving and stopping of the cloud, which means that filial obedience carries on. It is a picture of the good relationship between a father and a son: the Father Yahweh leads and his son Israel follows. The presence of Yahweh which dwelt on Mt. Sinai now dwells in the tabernacle and leads Israel on his way.¹⁹ Israel's further journeys are dependent upon the guiding presence of Yahweh in a visible way that all the people can see, a cloud by day and a fire by night.²⁰ This divine guidance took place first when Israel came out of Egypt before crossing the sea. The pillars of cloud and fire went ahead of them by day and night (13:20) and also appeared to fight against the Egyptian army for the protection of Israel, which happened after the Passover sacrifice (14:19-25). The divine guidance seems to be related to the sacrificial worship. However, the divine guidance in terms of the pillars of cloud and fire is contrasted with the divine presence in the cloud. The difference is that the former is moving from one place to another, and the latter dwells in Mt. Sinai (cf. 16:10, 24:16, 18; 33:8-10, 22; 34:5). It could be assumed beyond the book that daily worship and daily divine guidance continue together in the relationship between Yahweh and Israel.

Amalekites (17:8-16). Jethro visits Moses (18:1-12) and advises on judicial administration (18:13-26). Afterwards Israel arrives at Sinai and remains throughout the period of the wilderness at Sinai recounted in the rest of this book (and up to Numbers 10:11).

¹⁹ Brevard S. Childs, *Exodus: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1974), 638.

²⁰ John I. Durham, 501.

2.2. Deuteronomy

The book describes Yahweh and Israel as a father-son relationship. Israel is depicted as an ungrateful son and in response the Father punishes him. However, the presentation of fatherly images are encouraged for Israel to honour and worship him only. The obedience of the son towards Yahweh is commanded and emphasised, and he obeyed him.

2.2.1. An Ungrateful Son and the Punishment of the Father

Do you thus repay the Lord, O foolish and senseless people? **Is not he your father**, who created you, who made you and established you? (Deut 32:6). **You are unmindful of the Rock that begot you; You forgot the God who gave you birth** (Deut 32:18).

The Lord saw it, and was jealous; **he spurned his sons and daughters...**
They made me jealous with what is no god, provoked me with their idols (Deut 32:19-21).

Filial piety is emphasised because Israel is ungrateful. The rhetorical question “Is not he your father?” appeals emphatically to urge them to understand who is their father (Deut 32:6). This verse echoes Exodus 4:23, in which Israel was born as Yahweh’s son. Yahweh’s fatherly compassion started from the beginning: he begot Israel as his firstborn among many nations (Deut 32:6-9, 18). The words “beget” (לד) and “give birth” (לול) suggest that Yahweh as parent begot Israel and they must depend upon him. This means that Yahweh is the source of life for Israel. However, Israel deserted the Rock who begot him and they forgot God who gave him birth (Deut 32:18). This means that a son gives up his identity, ignoring the Father, the source of his life. The following words demonstrate that their involvement is pagan worship: “alien thing”, “abominations”, “demons”, “no-gods” and “gods they had never known” (32:16-18).

The contrasted parallelism between Yahweh and foreign gods suggests that Israel’s worship of other gods is ungrateful.²¹ Chapter 32:12 signifies the early stage of the sojourn when Yahweh’s guidance was the only way for Israel: the Lord alone guided them, no alien gods at his side. Likewise the term “rock” is used to depict God as the dependable rock and the other gods as unreliable rocks.²² The rock refers both to

²¹ Cf. Jeffrey H. Tigay, *The JPS Commentary: Deuteronomy* (Philadelphia: The Jewish Philadelphia Society, 1996), 304.

²² Raymond Brown, 295.

the Lord and pagan gods: the Rock was once their Refuge and father, but they rejected him (32:15, 18) and they took refuge in other rocks (32:37). Chapter 32:17-18 describes how they sacrificed to demons and deserted Yahweh. They rebelled against Yahweh by worshipping pagan gods, which provoked Yahweh's anger and punishment (32:15-19). Worshipping demons and deserting Yahweh the Father are synonymous in this context.

In response, the Father resolves to punish his son by withdrawing his protection and exposing him to war and national disasters (32:21-25). Chapter 32:21 states that God will punish Israel because they incensed him by favouring non-god (לֹא־אֱלֹהִים). But he would not obliterate Israel entirely because the triumphant enemy would misinterpret its success as a sign of its own power (32:31). Yahweh will punish the enemy as well (32:32-35) and deliver Israel, showing that he has power to control the nations (32:36-42).

2.2.2. The Presentation of Fatherly Images as an Encouragement to Filial Piety

A historical retrospect depicting Yahweh as a "carrying" father occurs in chapters 1-3 as an introduction to the rest of the book.²³ The message of Moses takes place at the end of the Mosaic period and just prior to the entry of the Israelites into the promised land. The remembrance of past events is employed to emphasise to the people the importance of the guidance of Yahweh: the recollections of Horeb (Deut 1:6-18), Kadesh-barnea (1:19-46), Mount Seir (2:1-8), Moab and Ammon (2:9-25), the conquests of Heshbon (2:26-37) and Bashan (3:11) and the allocation of land east of the Jordan (3:12-22).²⁴ In this critical time filial obedience is emphasised by presenting Yahweh as a father who carried his son Israel up to the present. This presentation could help them to respond to him properly. The credo passage below presents a summary of what Yahweh did for Israel: it covers the Pentateuchal tradition from the call of Abraham, the book of Exodus to the imminent entry into the promised land.²⁵

The Lord your God, who goes before you, is the one who will fight for you, just as he did for you in Egypt before your very eyes, and in the wilderness, where you saw how **the Lord your**

²³ R. E. Clements, 14-15.

²⁴ P. C. Craigie, 18, 67-68.

²⁵ Jeffery H. Tigay, 17.

God carried you, just as a man carries his son, all the way that you travelled until you reached this place (Deut 1:30-31).

This passage can easily create a picture of a father's carrying of his son. Every day the morning pillar of cloud had marked out the safe way to the best camp site. In the afternoon the cloud which had sheltered them from the blazing sun was replaced by a pillar of fire to light up and warm the camp in the night. Thus they could walk and sleep in comfort. It is a rich and powerful picture of a carrying God in a time of sojourn. Why does it occur here? Deuteronomy 1:30 shows that the saving and fighting activities of Yahweh at the time of the exodus will continue. Moses recollects how he encouraged the people, urging them not to fear (1:21, 29). The phrase "The Lord your God carried you" was an experience of the Israelites which happened before crossing the Red Sea (Ex 14:13), so that the same message could give them a reassurance of future deliverance: "as a man carries his son". Yahweh would help them not only with deliverance but also with protection and provision in their life in the promised land.

The image of a disciplining father is used to urge them to obey the commandments of Yahweh the Father.

Remember how the Lord your God led you all the way in the desert these forty years, to humble you and to test you in order to know what was in your heart, whether or not you would keep his commandments...Know then in your heart that as a man disciplines his son, so the Lord your God disciplines you (Deut 8:2-5).

The significance of the sojourn period is described as disciplining Israel. Discipline here means to humble them and test their obedience by way of causing them suffering in the desert. Discipline means also the prohibition of both Moses and the Exodus generation from entering into the promised land.²⁶ Moses' prohibition appears to be due to two main reasons: his own sin and the people's sin. First, it was certainly his own sin, perhaps his anger, that kept him out of the land. The narrative refers to the incident at Meribah. The Lord tells him that he did not uphold His holiness among them (32:5). Secondly, it was due to the people's sin. The repeated phrases "because of you" (1:37; 3:26) indicate that they are the cause of Moses' sin. The prohibition of the Exodus generation from entering into the land is caused by their own sin. It was at Kadesh Barnea, the occasion described in Numbers 20, that the Hebrews found themselves

²⁶ Jefferey H. Tigay, 92; Raymond Brown, 326-27.

without water in the wilderness of Zin, and they grumbled that under his initiative they had been brought up out of Egypt. At the moment they were about to die in the desert. This prohibition is a lesson to the new generation that they should not be rebellious against God.

2.2.3. Worship Yahweh Only

The verbs זבא (sacrifice) and עבד (serve) are used three times and twenty-six times respectively to refer to both Yahweh and pagan gods as the objects. All except for two occasions (Deut 6:13; 10:20) are used of their association with the requirement of the destruction of Canaanite shrines and the warning of the worship of pagan gods.

(1) The worship of Yahweh only is here related to the requirement of the destruction of Canaanite shrines at many places, of the choice of one single place that Yahweh chooses and of rejection of the Canaanite way of worship. (i) Chapter 12 begins with the command to destroy the Canaanite shrines which filled the land (Deut 12:2-4, 29-31). The temptation which Israel would face in Canaan must be resisted at any price. Failure to do so will result in the death of the nation. (ii) The denunciation of Canaanite worship is followed by the worship of Yahweh at the place which Yahweh shall choose (Deut 12:5-28). The place must be free from any association with Canaanite idolatry and is established by Yahweh's initiative. It is Yahweh's place, where he wants to be worshipped. It is the filial responsibility of Israel to respond. (iii) The Canaanite manner of worship is prohibited (Deut 12:4, 31). Many shrines were located on high mountains and hills and there were also shrines located under every luxuriant tree. In those places they were involved with the fertility rites, and they even practised child sacrifices.

(2) A warning about the worship of other gods is dealt with in chapter 13. This chapter falls into three parts, which specify the principal persons or groups within society that might be the source of temptation. (i) A false prophet or dreamer could lure them into apostasy. They might say, "Let us follow after other gods" or "Let us worship them" (Deut 13:2). The true prophet could not speak such words as "love god" about other gods (6:5), which would be in direct contradiction to the first and second commandments. The penalty was capital punishment. (ii) Family or friends could be a source of temptation. This would be made secretly and would be based upon the

intimacy of the relationship or friendship. The nature of the temptation is the same basically: "Let us follow and let us serve other gods" (13:7). The penalty was capital punishment: "you should certainly kill him" (13:10). The person who reported the crime would cast the first stone against the offender of the crime and then the rest of the community would join him in stoning him to death. (iii) Fellow townsmen, maybe a large number of wicked men, might tempt, saying "Let us go and worship other gods" (13:12). The penalty was capital punishment. The inhabitants and cattle were to be executed and the spoil was to be gathered in the town square and burned with the city, which would never again be rebuilt. The purpose of such harsh action is to eradicate the worship of other gods and to worship Yahweh only.

2.2.4. Obey, My Son

The command to love is called "the great commandment", which is the pivot around which everything else in Deuteronomy revolves.²⁷ Love is commanded to be directed at Yahweh alone. This is particularly characteristic of this book, and is also exactly the attitude which the Old Testament requires of Israel when it speaks of the people as God's son.²⁸ The father-son relationship is conceived in terms of mutual love. Yahweh first loved the ancestors of Israel and his love continued to rest on Israel until now. In fact, on the basis of his love they were brought out of Egypt and stood before the promised land (Deut 4:37-38; 7:8; 10:15). The love of Yahweh is described as the source of the salvation history of Israel. Therefore it is a son's turn to respond to his father in love.

In the main body of Moses' address (Deut 4-30) to obey the law, the commandments and the decrees are consistently repeated,²⁹ so that the concept of

²⁷ Patrick D. Miller, *Deuteronomy* (Louisville: John Knox Press, 1973), 97.

²⁸ J. W. McKay, "Man's Love for God in Deuteronomy and the Father/Teacher- Son/Pupil Relationship", *VT* 22 (1972), 427; Dennis J. McCarthy, "Notes on the Love of God in Deuteronomy and the father-son relationship between Yahweh and Israel", *CBQ* 27 (1965), 145; Gerhard von Rad, *Deuteronomy: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1966), 64.

²⁹ The object of the verb "obey" as the Lord (Deut 15:5; 27:10; 28:1), the commandments of the Lord (11:27; 30:16), all the words that Moses commands (12:28), and the like seem to be the same meaning in this book. A combined expression of the above appears to point out the well-defined meaning of it: "you obey the Lord your God, by observing his commands and decrees that are written in this book of the law" (30:10). The obedience to God and the keeping of the commandments, decrees and laws are not different, and these are the major portion of the book.

obedience might be engraved on the heart of Israel. These summons commence with the “beginning speech” formula or the idiosyncratic terms urging them to obey (שמע) at each unit or chapter, and there then usually follows the contents of the commandments or the decrees (משפט) or the laws (חק) (Deut 4:1; 5:1, 32; 6:1, 3, 4, 13, 24, 25; 7:11, 12; 8:1, 6, 11; 10:13; 11:1, 8, 13, 22, 32; 12:1, 32; 26:16, 17, 18; 27:1, 10; 28:1, 15; 29:1; 30:2, 11). It is clear that the laws and the decrees are linked to the revelation at Horeb and the messages of Moses. This continues to push Israel on towards the decision of obedience. The summons to “obey” the law (5:1-5) is followed immediately by Moses’ repetition of the Decalogue (5:6-21). Yahweh spoke to all Israel from the fire and the cloud, expecting them to obey him. The call for Israel (6:4) demands an appropriate and obedient response to the words of Yahweh preached by Moses. The schema makes it clear that listening is the basis of any such response.

Chapter 8 maintains the same theme. Moses continues to preach that the way to experience the fulfilment of promise is to obey what was heard. Verses 1-5 remind Israel of the educative events of the wilderness, and verses 7-10 of the potential for the future. The plea to remember Yahweh at all times is introduced in verses 11-18. The explicit calls to remember Yahweh and his acts and the extended treatment of the golden calf episode reveal that Israel is constantly at risk of forgetting Yahweh (Deut 8:1, 6; 10:17-20; 11:1, 8-15, 22-25). Israel is prone to forget and to disobey. The memory motif inevitably tends to promote a pessimistic view of the sons of Yahweh.³⁰

The repetition of the command to “obey” suggests the past failures of Israel in chapters 9:1-10:11. Israel did not respond to Yahweh in filial responsibility. In the context of the stubbornness and apostasy of Israel, the forty years of discipline experienced in the wilderness are ascribed to disobedience to Yahweh. Thus the command to obey or observe is repeated to emphasise obedience to Yahweh. Israel must listen to Yahweh’s word through Moses and walk on into the land of promise. Chapter 11:8-17 states that obedience to the divine revelation holds the key to successful entry to and occupation of Canaan.

The legislation contained in 26:1-15 relates to two particular ceremonies which were to be held as soon as Israel had taken possession of the land and begun its new style of life. This action was to be taken once the land had been possessed. It precedes

³⁰ Walter Brueggemann, *Isaiah 1-39* (Louisville; Kentucky: Westminster John Knox Press, 1998), 53-58.

the legislation of 27:1-26, in which the particular renewal of the covenant in the vicinity of Shechem is commanded to be undertaken after the crossing of the Jordan and the initial stages of the conquest. Chapter 27:1-10 begins with the command to keep all of the commands. Here a further renewal of obedience to God's commandment in the future is emphasised as it had been declared and expounded in chapters 12-26.

A lengthy exposition of the consequences of Israel's obeying or disobeying in chapters 27:11-29:1 is addressed in terms of the covenant that Moses has rehearsed in chapters 5-26. This pericope can be divided into two main sections in terms of the phrases "If you obey" and "If you do not obey". The reason that the negative conditional statements are much longer than the positive conditional statements is that the negative warning acts as an enforcement of the positive activity, considering the past history of disobedience. The positive conditional phrase "If you obey the Lord" begins first and follows the descriptions of blessings such as abundant crops and food, human and animal fertility, wealth, surplus, economic pre-eminence and military success (28:1-14). However, the negative conditional phrase, "If you do not obey the Lord" is followed by curses such as drought, disasters, crop failure, economic collapse and dependency, defeat in war, conquest, oppression, famine, cannibalism and exile (28:15-29:1). This contrast between blessing and curse is well known in this book.³¹

The summons to obey are repeated again and again: "you shall return to your senses" (Deut 30:1), "return to the Lord" (30:2), "you shall listen to his voice" (30:2). The people would come back to the promised land and they would be prosperous and numerous again (30:3, 5). The insistence that to obey the law is not difficult is twice expressed in terms of metaphorical description: "It is not in the heavens" and "It is not beyond the sea." That is to say that keeping the commandment is practical and realistic. The making of a decision involved a whole way of life based upon the decision. The way of "life and good" is described in verse 16, which seems to summarise the whole of the positive aspects of Moses' address: if you listen to the commandment, loving the Lord your God, walking in his ways, then you shall live. This obedience would be the catalyst, realising Yahweh's blessing upon them. Then immediately follows the way of death and evil in verses 17 and 18: "if your mind turns aside", "you do not listen", "you

³¹ Jeffery H. Tigay, 257.

do bow down to other gods”, you shall certainly perish. The wrong decision would result in evil and ultimately death. Moses urges the people to make the right choice.

2.2.5. Israel Obeyed Yahweh

Chapter 34 deals with the transferral of leadership. The greatest man of God fades away after the fulfilment of his prophetic office and then the new leadership emerges in the continuation of the covenant with the new generation. The most important fact here is that Israel “obeyed” Joshua and did what the Lord had commanded Moses (Deut 34:9). Obeying Joshua is identical to obeying God. The book ends with the obedience of Israel, that is, filial piety. It seems that Moses’ exhortation resulted in Israel’s obedience to Yahweh.

2.3. Isaiah

The book depicts Yahweh and Israel as a father-son relationship, comprising several themes such as: rebellious son, the punishment of the Father as a lesson of filial piety, the fatherhood of Yahweh as an encouragement of filial piety, the son’s confession, the son’s praise of Yahweh and the son’s worship of Yahweh.

2.3.1. The Rebellious Sons and the Punishment of the Father

The following text provides a basic theme by which to enter the book.³² It consists of a summons to heaven and earth, an affirmation of Yahweh as a caring Father and an indictment of a rebellious son, Israel. (i) The call to heaven and earth is a rhetorical assertion of indignation on Yahweh’s part. Yahweh summons cosmic witnesses to observe the relationship between a father and a son. (ii) Yahweh has been a caring father who “reared” and “brought up” his son to strong viability. (iii) By contrast Israel rebelled against Yahweh. Israel has intentionally deserted his Father Yahweh. This ungratefulness is known to the world and heaven and earth are its witnesses.

Hear, O heaven and listen, O earth for the Lord has spoken: **I reared sons and brought them up, but they have rebelled against me** (Isa 1:2).

³² Walter Brueggemann, 13.

The above description of Israel as one who rebelled (פָּשַׁע) against Yahweh in the very first oracle of the book suggests why filial piety is so important in this book. It seems to be an overarching theme in the book of Isaiah as a whole. In fact the book begins and ends with the issue of filial piety: (i) “they rebelled (פָּשַׁע) against me” (Isa 1:2) and (ii) “they shall go out and look at the dead bodies of the people who have rebelled (פָּשַׁע) against me” (Isa 66:24). That these two verses use “rebelled” shows clearly enough Israel’s continual rebellion against Yahweh. This theme continues in 1:3, which employs a metaphor of the animal. The animal instinctively knows its owner but Israel does not know his Father. This comparison is a strong accusation. Yahweh therefore assumes the role of a vexed father assembling witnesses to hear the charges against them: Yahweh’s children practise evil and deal with each other corruptly; they have forsaken and despised their father; and their rebellion persists even in the face of corporal punishment that leaves them bruised and bleeding (Isa 1:5-6). Not only they, but also their homes, land and cities have been decimated as a result of their corruption (1:7-8). So severe is the situation that only a few survivors remain (1:9).

Even in the face of such serious offences, Yahweh hopes for a change in his sons’ ways. In an offer of fatherly forbearance, the sons are given a choice of obedience or rebellion, and the choices are related to their rewards of different kinds. Under such conditions Yahweh concludes that only a great purge can restore the city. Israel’s history of rebellion against his father is illustrated with particular perniciousness by the leaders (Isa 1:23-31). Cultic acts alone cannot compensate for the people’s defiling and oppressive deeds. On the contrary, their insincere sacrifices and prayers are offensive to Yahweh, who desires that the community cleanses itself of evil and oppression (3:16-17). In fact, by and large, chapters 1-3 argue that the children of God are offered the opportunity to repent of their defiance and injustice. Those who become obedient will partake of Judah’s and Jerusalem’s future salvation (1:27; 2:1-4); those who do not, persisting in their defiance and sinfulness, will surely be destroyed (1:28; cf. 66:24). Indeed, the purging of Judah’s leadership is begun and social chaos threatens.

The people of Israel, who want political alliance with Egypt, are described as rebellious sons in Isaiah 30:1-5. Such a move is condemned because it is an act of distrust in Yahweh and in his power to care for his own sons in all their needs. This plan for an Egyptian alliance is not sanctioned by God (Isa 30:1). The rebellious son who resists his parents and who does not obey them is to be punished. The parents have

the right to have such a son stoned to death (Deut 21:18-21). Here the relationship between a father and a son is not described as protection or care but as unconditional authority and power over his son, that is, the demand for obedience without question (cf. Deut 32:5).³³

Yahweh charges obstinate Israel that they would ascribe prophetic foresight to their idols in chapter 48:3-11. But God promises to tell Israel new things so unheard of that the people cannot claim to have learned them from some other sources. Isaiah 48:8 traces this obduracy back to Israel's earliest emergence as a people in the exodus events. The exodus tradition reminds us of repeated rebellious acts of Israel against God in the exodus and the sojourn in the wilderness. Here Yahweh does not assume the role of a patient father extending forgiveness to even the most stubborn children. On the contrary, Israel has been forced to endure the furnace of adversity as Yahweh disciplines them.

In Chapter 57:3-13, the term "sons of a witch" is employed for condemning Israel's worship of other gods and particularly of the god Molech. However, Israel attempts to enter the open Jerusalem Temple fellowship without changing their ways.³⁴ Chapter 58 is a typical text for Isaiah's rhetoric of rebellion. Reminiscent of Isaiah 1:2, these two chapters (1 and 58) constitute a precise enactment of the events and outcomes presaged in chapter one. Isaiah 58:1-5 contains a condemnation of those who are not righteous. Their impeccable attention to fasting and other prescribed cultic obligations is nullified by their self-serving motivations and acts of violence. Just as accusation was followed by invitation and the possibility of reconciliation in chapter 1, so condemnation here is not the final word. Rhetorical questions (Isa 58:6-7) coupled with conditional clauses (58:9-10, 13) spell out God's moral mandate, while chapters 58:8-9, 11-12, 14 disclose, in terms reminiscent of chapters 40-55, the rich rewards which wait for those who obey Yahweh's demands. The son must make a choice.

However, the fearful punishment must be a lesson for rebellious sons who have not repented of their rebellion against Yahweh. The significance of rebellious sons depicted in this lengthy portion lies in the very last verse (Isa 66:24), that their dead bodies remain a warning. In fact the punishment as a result of rebellion has been a great

³³ Otto Kaiser, *Isaiah 13-39: A Commentary* (London: SCM, 1974), 285.

³⁴ John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66* (Waco; Texas: Word Books, 1985), 256.

lesson, which is described in a socio-political judgement (Isa 3:5-7, 17-26; 9:11-21). Nevertheless, Israel continues to disobey. They know that the wages of rebellion are horrible. The permanent punishment against the rebellious children, which is more fearful than the physical death of a rebellious son (Deut 21:18-21), clearly indicates the demand for obedience. Furthermore, a lengthy prophecy against the nations (Isa 13:1-21:16; 23:1-24:23) could also be a warning that Israel as well as the nations should not disobey but should honour Yahweh.

2.3.2. The Fatherhood of God as an Encouragement of Filial Piety

The images of the Father God described in this book suggest an encouragement of filial piety. It is worthy for a son to be reminded of his father who begot, bore, carried, called and disciplined him. The description of Yahweh as the father of Israel in a lengthy passage could help Israel to appreciate his father's compassion and he could behave gratefully towards him. The picture of a caring father encourages and teaches the son a lesson of filial piety. Reminding him of his origin, growth, guidance, and care, can be the best way that a father can foster his son's motivation to obey and honour him.

(1) *A Begetting Father*. In several passages Yahweh is depicted as the Father who begets his son. The significance of each son is closely associated with the deliverance and restoration of God's son Israel. (i) A son of David (Isa 11:1-15) in the expression "a shoot from Jesse" obviously indicates a son of David, which implies the messianic hope that first appeared in 7:14 and was amplified in 9:1-6.³⁵ Verses 1-9 contain a prophecy of the advent of the Messiah (Isa 11:1), a description of his character (11:2), the government (11:3-5) and a picture of the beneficent reign (11:6-9). Verses 10-16 mainly describe the formation of the new messianic community by the return of Israel from all parts of the world. (ii) God's sons from afar (43:1-28) imply the future deliverance from exile, the recall of the exodus from Egypt (43:1-3) and the pronouncement of the new exodus.³⁶ The subjects of the exodus and the new exodus are the sons and daughters of God, Israel. This happens after the son's confession. The

³⁵ John N. Oswalt, *The Book of Isaiah Chapters 1-39* (Grand rapids: Eerdmans, 1993), 277.

³⁶ A. S. Herbert, 51.

Father accepts his son's repentance and plans to reaffirm his promise of the restoration of the country (43:14-28).

(2) *A Bearing Father* (Isa 1:2). It is significant that the very first word of the oracle is "sons" and it suggests that the father is concerned with his sons and the father-son relation holds firm. Yahweh has bestowed blessing upon his sons by delivering them from Egypt. Since the days of Abraham God had treated Israel as a father treats his son. For a long time they had experienced his fatherly love and care. The verbs "bear" and "bring up" are the first acts in which God manifested his love toward Israel as a whole. In the fertile land of Egypt, Israel became numerous enough to be constituted as a nation, as in the promise made to Abraham.

(3) *A Carrying Father* (Isa 46:1-13). Here, a carrying father is used to recall Israel's past history. The father who carried Israel when he was a small son is still carrying them in his mercy. This echoes the exodus, the sojourn and even the present time. However, Israel carries the idols. A carrying Father is contrasted with carrying idols. Carrying idols points out the inability, immobility and deafness of the idols (46:2, 7). Even so, God's carrying scheme for Israel remains valid. Stubborn Israel continues in chapter 48 but God's carrying plan begins with the fall of Babylon in chapter 47. In fact the Father's carrying scheme began with his son's birth in Egypt (46:3) and continues to his son's grey hair (46:4), which means "from the cradle to the grave" in the modern English term.

(4) *A Calling Father* (Isa 51:1-16). "To call" is a father's language toward his son. The reason for calling is to bless. The call of Abraham is related to God's blessings upon his descendants. The birth of a son Isaac is the beginning of blessing (51:2). This calling of the Lord now comforts Israel in distress (51:3). The exodus event is recalled to comfort them and assure them of deliverance. Furthermore these verbs, "listen to me", "hear me", "lift up", "awake", "depart", and "come out" are the language of the tender calling of a father towards his son Israel and used to describe an imminent deliverance.

(5) *A Disciplining Father* (Isa 26:16; cf. 25:9-27:13). The present situation of Israel as in distress is described as being disciplined by Yahweh (26:16). This theme is central in chapters 25:9-27:13. The future expression "In that day" (25:9; 26:1; 27:1, 2, 12, 13) indicates the present trouble, while yearning for the deliverance of Israel in the future. Their future sayings in that day, "we trusted in him and he saved us", "let us

rejoice and be glad in his salvation" (26:9), "God makes salvation" (26:1), "Israel will bud and blossom" (27:6) and "a great trumpet will sound" (27:13), which are typical among many similar expressions, imply the future hope. Yahweh chastens Israel through other nations to humble and finally restores them. The discipline has two functions: one is the result of sin and the other is the vehicle of blessing or deliverance.

2.3.3. The Son's Confession

Israel confesses Yahweh as father. This means that they repent of their sin and come home like a prodigal son. Repentant sons plead with Yahweh to reclaim them as his own sons who long for his love and protection. Following a fervent prayer for Yahweh's presence a description of the son's cry "You are our father" appears (Isa 63:16; 64:8). The images of God and Israel as a potter and clay are reminiscent of chapter 45:9, where Israel was represented as rebellious clay reproaching the potter. But in the prophet's prayer the nation in its guilt and helplessness consents to be clay in Yahweh's hands that he may shape it anew (Isa 63:9). The promise as revealed of old to them was that he would not keep his anger forever, but would show himself as a father who forgives his sons when he has disciplined them for their sins. The implication of the strong bond between a father and a son seems to assert the right of the remnant to call Yahweh the father in order to claim their place within the covenant people of God and to name God as their redeemer as he has been the redeemer of their forefathers in the past (Isa 63:17).³⁷ Yet in spite of Israel's sin God remains the Father of his people. The plea "You are our father" (63:16; 64:8) is a reassurance of the right relationship between a father and a son, on which Israel's hopes are based.³⁸

2.3.4. The Son's Praise of Yahweh

The praise of Yahweh can be regarded as the filial piety of Israel for Yahweh. (i) Isaiah 12 is a song of praise to Yahweh. This song describes the reasons for praising him in terms of future perspective: his comforting (Isa 12:1), his salvation and strength (15:2-3), his glorious things for them (12:5) and the greatness of the Holy One of Israel

³⁷ James D. Smart, *History and Theology in Second Isaiah: A Commentary in Isaiah 35, 40-66* (London: Epworth Press, 1967), 270.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, 270.

among them (12:6). The song encourages them to praise him.³⁹ (ii) Isaiah 25 carries a consistent theme of praise to Yahweh. The opening remark of exalting and praising God (Isa 25:1) and the repeating remark of honouring and revering him (25:3) establish a son's filial attitude towards God the Father. The rest of the chapter seems to talk about the reasons for praising God from the future perspective: the perfect faithfulness that God has to them (25:1); the destruction of a foreign city probably as the punishment of God (25:2); God as a refuge (25:4-5); his preparing a feast of rich food for all peoples (26:6); his punishment over the pagan worshippers (26:7); his comfort and removing the disgrace of his people from all the earth (25:8); his salvation for those who believed in him (25:9) and the destruction of Moab (25:10-12). (iii) Isaiah 26:1-15 is also a theme of praising God.⁴⁰ This portion describes the hope of Judean faithful worshippers who want to go to Jerusalem and worship Yahweh. They want to believe and repeat the usual sacrifice to Yahweh. But they cannot do so now because of the exile.⁴¹ Verse 1 describes the praise of God and the rest of the chapter seems to explain the reasons for or the contents of the praise to God: the salvation and peace (Isa 26:1-6), the praise of the righteous one (26:7-10), the peace established for them (26:12), the remembrance of the punishment of God for Israel (26:14) and the enlargement of the nation (26:15). (iv) Isaiah 42:10-16 is a song of praise to the Lord. The call to praise seven times in the first three verses seems to signify the imminent deliverance of Israel and the necessity of his praising the Lord, considering the singing of the people not only in Jerusalem but also elsewhere in the nations (42:10-12) and the last five verses that describe the future deliverance of Israel (42:13-16). The contents or reasons for praising him follow: God's victory over his enemies (42:13), a metaphor of a woman in childbirth which implies the deliverance of Israel (42:16).

2.3.5. The Son's Worship of Yahweh

Did Israel worship him properly? We can categorise the three kinds of worship which are related to Israel's performance: the false worship of God, the worship of foreign gods and the right worship of God in the future.

³⁹ John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 1-33* (Waco; Texas: Word Books, 1985), 183.

⁴⁰ John N. Oswalt, 470.

⁴¹ John D. W. Watts, 342.

(1) The false worship is associated with rebellious sons. The false sacrifices are described in the beginning of the book, which depicts failure to accompany the sacrificial worship with a lifestyle of justice and righteousness (Isa 1:10-17). Thus sacrifices are rejected by Yahweh and then the charges to repentance follow. This false worship seems to be the cause of the condemnation of Israel as rebellious sons, because 1:2-6 constitutes accusations without identifying the content of sin until this issue of the false sacrifices. Isaiah condemns a false piety, which is lip-service. No matter how earnestly they prayed and performed their religious devotion, their intentions are not pleasing to God (23:13-14). It is not a criticism of religious rites *per se*, but an artificiality which hides a moral disobedience.⁴²

(2) The worship of foreign gods is identified as idolatry (Isa 1:29-31). These pagan worshippers are regarded as the rebels or rebellious sons. The implication of the reference to the abundance of superstitions from the East, the practice of divination and the fullness of idols is that they are actively involved with the worship of foreign gods. They bowed down to hand-made idols (43:12; 44:15). The idolatry is ridiculed and the futility and self-deception of idol worship is portrayed in satire (44:9-20).⁴³ Even so Israel worships other gods (46:1-13). They continually provoke God by offering sacrifices and burning incense to other gods (65:3-7).

(3) However, there is a firm statement in the last chapter that although they dishonour him in the present time it is expected that Israel will worship him properly in the future. They will proclaim his glory among the nations; they will bring all brothers from all nations to the holy mountain in Jerusalem; they will come to worship before Yahweh; and they will bring grain offerings (Isa 66:19-23). The implication of "clean vessels" and "holy mountain" suggests that they will perform pure and holy worship, which alone can please Yahweh. Yahweh sees that they will worship him properly. The proclamation of his glory through Israel to the nations is what Yahweh wants and what Israel will demonstrate.

⁴² R. E. Clement, 239.

⁴³ John D. W. Watts, *Isaiah 34-66*, 145-46.

2.4. Jeremiah

The book describes Yahweh and Israel as a father-son relationship, containing the themes of the ungrateful son, the discipline of the ungrateful son, the obedience of the Father and the son's repentance.

2.4.1. The Ungrateful Son

From the outset of the book the worship of other gods is rebuked and defined as the first sin of Israel. After the call and commission of Jeremiah for the punishment of Israel's wrongdoing the very first words of the charge are that they are worshipping other gods (Jer 1:16). "To forsake God" (5:19; 15:6; 16:11; 44:25; 48:35) and "burning incense" (Jer 1:16; 7:9; 11:12, 13, 17; 17:26) are equated with "worshipping other gods" (1:16; 11:12; 19:13; 44:3, 15) which men have made by their hands. The worship of other gods is identified as Baalism, which is expressed in manifold ways: they followed worthless idols (2:5); they defiled the land (2:7, 23); they rebelled against God (2:8, 29); they prophesied by Baal (2:8); they have forsaken God (2:13, 17); they love foreign gods (2:25).

To make matters worse, to call wood (Baal) a "father" is a horrible contradiction of a son's normal attitude and a provocation of the father's anger toward his son.

They [Israel] say to wood, 'You are my father' and to stone, 'You gave me birth'. For they have turned their back to me (Jer 2:27).

Here the worship of other gods is the opposite behaviour of filial piety. At the time of Jeremiah there is no indication of honouring and obeying God. Yahweh the Father nevertheless expected Israel to call him father: "I thought you would call me, 'my father'" (Jer 3:19). Both calling him father and following him are the nature of a son. Having been called as the firstborn son, delivered out of Egypt and given the promised land Israel must have honoured and obeyed him. They owed everything to God: their being and well-being were due to his consistent and peculiar care. In fact Israel followed, obeyed and called God his Father at the time of the sojourn period in the wilderness (2:2; 3:4). Now Israel is required to turn from other gods and to call Yahweh his Father. Israel has to stop its idolatry and worship the Father.

A lengthy statement on this issue suggests that Israel is a very ungrateful son. Israel provoked their father to anger by burning incense and by worshipping other gods

(Jer 2:27; 7:18; 44:3). Isaiah 7:1-8:3 consists of a unity of themes that deals with the worship of other gods: the temple sermon centred on the pagan worship (Isa 7:1-15), an attack on the worship of the queen of heaven (7:16-20), an oracle condemning the attitude that regarded the offering of sacrifice as a substitute for obedience (7:21-28), an oracle condemning child sacrifice and other evil practices on Hinnom valley (7:29-34) and a condemnation of the worship of astral gods (8:1-3). Isaiah 10 is a satirical attack on idols (cf. 40:18-20; 41:7; 44:9-10; 46:5-7), which consists of a warning against idols (10:2-5), a demand for reverence to Yahweh (10:6-7), the futility of idols (10:8-9), the creative power of Yahweh as the Lord over the nature as implying polemic against the fertility cults (10:10-13), the judgement against the idols and their makers (10:14-15) and Yahweh's supremacy over nature (10:16). Isaiah 18:13-17 contains a criticism of the unnatural apostasy of the people. To such an ungrateful son Yahweh as a caring Father gives a chance to obey or to repent, and if the son does not follow, the Father carries out the next scheme, that is, discipline.

2.4.2. The Discipline of the Ungrateful Son

Discipline is a fatherly way to deal with the rebellious son. The outcome of Judah's wickedness would be that he would be punished. The term "wickedness" is paralleled to the term "apostasy". The term "backsliding" is a useful one to describe Judah's apostasy from Yahweh (cf. Jer 2:19; 3:6-8, 11-12, 14-22; 5:6; 8:5; 14:7; 31:22). It was Judah's sin or his apostasy that brought troubles upon him. In other words, neither Egypt nor Assyria were responsible for the coming disasters. They were but the agents of Yahweh who punishes his sons (Jer 2:18, 19). Disciplining his son Israel is inevitable: "I will discipline you with justice" (30:11) and "I will not let you go entirely unpunished" (46:28). It is done through the exile (30:11; 46:28). The son's plea for discipline with justice, not with anger, asking for God's mercy, correcting his behaviour but sparing him from destruction (10:24; cf. 46:28), shows his awareness of the significance of obedience. The discipline leads to the restoration of sonship,⁴⁴ but it leads first to punishment.

(1) The Babylonian army attacked from the north, captured the king of Judah, and killed the sons of the king and all the nobles of Judah. The city suffered

⁴⁴ Gerald L. Keown, et. al., *Jeremiah 26-52* (Dallas; Texas: Word Books, 1995), 114.

considerable destruction. The royal palace and private houses were burned. The city walls were torn out (Jer 39:1-10). Jeremiah is confined but singled out for special care (39:11-15). A word from the Lord corresponds to the present disaster, but another word from him anticipates the future hope (39:16-18).

(2) Chapter 52 provides a reason for the destruction of Jerusalem (Jer 52:2, 3), a similar picture of the Babylonian attack and its end result (52:4-16), as in chapter 39, a clear description of the destruction of the temple (52:17-23) and the Babylonian captivity (52:24-30). The reason why this happens is important to understand these two chapters. That is the two sins that the king of Judah committed. First, he did evil in the eyes of the Lord (32:31). The evil that he has done is associated with the worship of Baal (32:29). Secondly, his rebellion against the king of Babylon caused the destruction. To rebel against him is tantamount to disobeying Yahweh.

2.4.3. The Obedience of God

Obedying God is commanded (Jer 7:23). The condition which makes possible the right relationship between a father and a son is described as a son's obedience. All else is secondary.⁴⁵ To obey is also emphasised in keeping the covenant. Obedience to the covenant obligations brings blessing; the breach of covenant brings a curse. This is what Yahweh commanded the forefathers of the present generation (11:2, 4, 7). Obedience is emphasised by introducing the conditional clause, "If you obey" or "If you do not obey", along with its rewards. Obedience is fundamental to blessing. The rewards of the throne of David, the temple and the city of Jerusalem imply the basic aspects of the national and religious life of the people. However, disobedience and the breaking of the covenant could lead to the curses of the covenant, repeated here in terms of an unquenchable fire, which could consume the palaces. In that case the throne, temple and city will be destroyed (Jer 17:23-27; cf. 22:2-9).

The reason for emphasising obedience here is that Israel did not obey God's law and worshipped other gods (Jer 11:10). Disobedience and the worship of other gods are synonymous in this context (11:10; 16:12). Chapter 26 states that the people of Judah are required to obey Yahweh's word. Jeremiah is commanded to stand in the temple and speak to them. The key message is "listen" (i.e., obey) to Yahweh (26:3, 4, 5, 13).

⁴⁵ J. A. Thompson, *The Book of Jeremiah* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1985), 288.

To listen to God is to listen to God's servants. Refusing to listen to God is defined as failure to keep or walk in the law (6:19; 9:12; 16:11-12; 32:23; 44:10, 23).⁴⁶ The divine threat, "If you do not listen to me", (26:4, 5) is followed by the sentence of punishment: the destruction of city and temple. As a response to an oracle concerning Judah, which demands they obey and follow God's law, Jeremiah is threatened with death because he has prophesied the destruction of the city (36:6-11). Jeremiah asserts his defence by repeating his claim to have been sent by the Lord and to have delivered the divine message (26:12-15). Then the royal officials, backed by the people, accept the prophet's defence and take a stand against the religious authorities (26:16-19).

Jeremiah 27-29 talk about the divine messages which constitute two kinds of messages: submit to the king of Babylon and do not listen to the false prophets who say that you will escape his rule shortly. (i) The authority of the king of Babylon is tantamount to the sovereignty of the Lord (Jer 27:5, 6). The Lord demonstrates that his servant the king of Babylon has God-given authority over the exilic community. Thus the subjects, including Israel, should serve him. (ii) The false prophecy that the nations would not serve the king of Babylon is identified with committing sins. It is called a lie (Jer 27:10) and a rebellion against the Lord (28:16; 29:32). The commands not to listen to the false prophets are repeated again and again (27:9, 14, 16, 17; 29:8) and the conditional threat and reward encourage them to obey and follow him (27:8, 11). But they did not obey Yahweh's words (29:19). Thus the nations suffer from the sword, famine and plague, and the prophet Hananiah died (28:17).

2.4.4. The Son's Repentance

The call of Yahweh to his sons, Israel and Judah, to turn back to him is followed by the sons' confession of sin (Jer 3:22-25). Such a call and its response would be expected in the normal relationship between a father and a son. When a father calls his son he must come with a right attitude, even though a son sometimes makes a mistake. This would keep the relationship good. The call to return in chapter 3 and 4 means to repent of the worship of other gods. They did not repent at that time.

However, they repent for deliverance in the book of consolation. The returning sons' weeping signifies their repentance. Ephraim describes himself as an "untrained

⁴⁶ Gerald L. Keown, *Jeremiah 26-52*, 114.

calf", knows that he has been disciplined because of his sins, and now acknowledges his guilt and God's correction and submits to God (Jer 31:18). The dialogue between a father and a son (31:18-20) suggests the restoration of their relationship. The son confesses as follows: (i) he knows the significance of discipline in the midst of his repentance (Jer 31:19), for not accepting charges brought against Israel in Jeremiah 2:27-29, 4:22; and (ii) he is ashamed of neglecting gratefulness for his father's provision for his early days in the exodus and the sojourn in the wilderness. The father answers quite emotionally to the confession made by his son and calls him his dear son: "Is not Ephraim my dear son, the child in whom I delight?" (31:20). The four verbs "speak", "remember", "yearn" and "have mercy" indicate the Father's concern for his sons, which results in divine salvation (Jer 14:21; 18:20; cf. Ps 27:7; 64:2; 106:45).

2.4.5. The Restoration of Israel

The restoration of Israel seem to be a matter of a transaction of the Father for his son. The expression "I am Israel's father and Ephraim is my firstborn son" (Jer 31:9) is unique in the Old Testament in that both the Father and his son appear together in a continual sequence. This passage is related to the conjunction "for", which results in the "I" passages: "I will bring them", "I will gather them" and "I will lead them" (Jer 31:8-9). That God speaks in the first person with the implication of the verbs "bring, gather and lead" indicates his promise to gather Israel again and to provide for them a joyful and bountiful life. It reminds us of the exodus tradition, which indicates that Yahweh as father will bring home his firstborn son as he did in Egypt. The identification of "my firstborn" with Ephraim connects with the following chapter 31:15-22, in which God calls Ephraim "my precious son" and "my darling child" (31:20).

The restoration of Israel is depicted also as the consequence of both a father's discipline and compassion and a son's repentance and worship. Even though the nations despise the people in their weakness the Lord will lead them safely back (Jer 31:7-14). The restoration recapitulates Yahweh's promises for ancient Israel in the wilderness, the settlement of the land and the choice of Zion as the place of worship (31:2-6). Chapter 32 is centred on Jeremiah's redemption purchase of a field in his home town of Anathoth and the subsequent signing ceremony when the title deed was preserved in a pottery vessel (32:6-15). This act signifies the imminent restoration of normal life to

Israel.⁴⁷ The restoration to the land has its source in the Father's compassion. Life will be secure and prosperous if the obedience that the Lord requires continues.⁴⁸

A vision of a united people worshipping Yahweh is envisaged. The expression "Come, let us go up to Zion, to the Lord our God" (Jer 31:6) suggests that Israel will worship Yahweh gladly for what he has done for them. Jerusalem will praise and honour Yahweh before the nations. This implies an affirmation of Yahweh's universal dominion over the nations, which is an affirmation of monotheism. Thus all human beings must worship him only. Thank offerings are the spontaneous expression of gratitude and praise and burnt offerings and grain offerings create a picture of a continual priesthood serving God in the temple.⁴⁹

2.5. Hosea

The fatherhood of Yahweh for his son Israel in the exodus tradition can be ascertained by understanding several verbs (love, call, teach to walk, take up, lift and feed). These verbs present an incomparable image of Yahweh with a most affectionate feeling for Israel.

When Israel was a child, I loved him, and out of Egypt I called my son. The more I called them, the more they went from me; they sacrificed to the Baals, and offered incense to idols. Yet it was I who taught Ephraim to walk, I took them up in my arms...I was to them like those who lift infants to their cheeks. I bent down to them and fed them (Hos 11:1-4).

In this book, particularly the verbs (love and call) are used to emphasise the continuity of the Father's care for his son. (i) The verb אהב (love) used three times in Hosea refers to Yahweh as the subject and explains the steadfast love of Yahweh for Israel: Yahweh loves them, even though Israel follows other gods (Hos 3:1); he remembers the time of his loving his son in the exodus (Hos 11:1); and he proclaims that he will love them again, urging repentance and promising blessings (Hos 14:2-4). But the verb אהב is also employed when Yahweh announces that he will not love any longer because of the leaders' rebellion against him (Hos 9:15). (ii) The verb קרא (call) in the book of Exodus is used exclusively to denote the deliverance of Israel from Egypt: Yahweh's calling to

⁴⁷ Ibid., 145-46.

⁴⁸ Ibid., 163.

⁴⁹ Ibid., 172, 174.

Moses (3:4; 12:31; 19:3; 34:31); Pharaoh's calling to Moses and Aaron (Ex 7:11; 8:8, 25; 9:27; 10:24) and Moses' calling to the elders (Ex 12:21; 19:7). The same verb קרא is used in Hosea to refer to the deliverance of Israel from the worship of Baals (Hos 7:7; 11:1, 2, 7). Here the worship of Baals is the main sin of Israel.

However, the ungrateful behaviour of Israel towards Yahweh can be discerned by the verbs "sacrificed" and "offered" to the Baals and idols. (iii) In the book of Hosea the verb זבח (sacrifice) is associated with the Canaanite cults, particularly the Baals (Hos 4:13, 14; 8:13; 11:2), while this verb in all occasions in the book of Exodus (Ex 3:18; 5:3, 8; 8:8, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29; 15:15; 20:15, 24; 22:20; 24:5; 32:8), except for one occasion that refers to the worship of foreign gods (Ex 34:15), is used for the worship of Yahweh by Israel. (iv) The קטר (offer) is used to describe burning incense to idols (2:13; 4:13; 11:2), which are made of silver and gold (8:4; cf. 13:2). This idol is associated with calves (13:2), which is a Canaanite cult.

2.5.1. The Presentation of Yahweh's Constant Love for His Son Israel

The love of Yahweh for his son Israel can be said to be a central theme unifying the book. The love of Yahweh for them is depicted as stronger than the sin of the people. The book begins and ends with the love of Yahweh (cf. Hos 1:10; 14:4) as the covering motif. The emphasis is on the love of Yahweh as a lesson of filial piety to an ungrateful son.

Chapter 3 deals with God's love for Israel as the dominant theme.⁵⁰ The word אהב is used five times to contrast two kinds of love in the first verse: one kind implies human affection and the other kind indicates divine love. The love of Yahweh is emphasised by contrasting these two kinds. This love contains four characteristics. The first one is one-sided: love your wife who loves another man; the second one is unconditional: love her although she turns to other gods; the third one is imperative: love her; and the fourth one is continuous: love her as the Lord loves Israel (Hos 3:1). Moreover, the purchase of the unfaithful woman is an act of realising the love of God, and living together with God leads to the restoration of the relationship between a father and a son because they must live together at home (Hos 3:2-3).

⁵⁰ H. D. Beeby, *Grace Abounds: A Commentary on the Book of Hosea* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1989), 38.

Chapter 11 mainly treats the theme of fatherly love.⁵¹ Hosea remembers the initial stage of Israel's history, which occurred in the Exodus. The loving care of a father towards his son is employed to show that even a rebellious son can be moved to come home. The word "love" is used as an interpretation of God's deep concern for Israel.⁵² Yahweh's love for his son Israel was demonstrated not only by his deliverance from Egypt. The tension between a father and a son is intensified by the description of the father's unconditional love and the son's continual rebellion. At last the son dwells no longer in the father's house and is to be found in the sanctuaries of the land making sacrifices to Baals (11:2). They are on the edge of being swallowed up by the nations, scattered by the invasion, and yet clinging to another god who cannot save them. But the Father speaks to his son "you" four times (11:8), which shows a strong fatherly love towards his son. The fourfold "How Can I" (11:8-9) is a measure of an unresolved tension within their relationships, which is irrevocable and indissoluble. Instead of abandoning Israel his son, the Father chastises him in order to teach a lesson of filial piety. This chastisement, although harsh, is a source of the love of Yahweh.

2.5.2. The Calling of Yahweh for Israel's Deliverance from the Baals

Yahweh kept on calling Israel through prophets, as a father calls his son, but they did not listen (Hos 11:1). Yahweh, the Father, describes his son as rebellious or ungrateful. The relationship between the father and the son was broken because the son did not respond in dependence and obedience. The implication of calling is for the deliverance from Baals. The calling of God for deliverance of unrepentant Israel is mainly dealt with in chapters 6:1-7:16. The imperative "come" and the summon to "return" to Yahweh take up an urgent calling (6:1-3). The verbs "come" and "return" mean to leave the cult of the Baals and come back to the original relationship with the Yahweh of the Exodus.⁵³ The call conveys his blessing upon them. The three verbs show it as follows: "to revive" means a portrayal of national recovery (cf. Ezek 37) as a sign of forgiveness of their sin of Baal worship; "to restore" means to regain the

⁵¹ H. D. Beeby states that chapter 11 is the central theme of the book of Hosea and as such provides a clue to the interpretation of the rest of the book, and that it is also a summary of the book's message (p. 140).

⁵² Cf. Hans Walter Wolff, *Hosea* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1974), 197.

⁵³ James Luther Mays, 94.

original sonship for a right relationship between the two; “to live” in the Father’s presence is an abundant life for the son (6:2). Furthermore, the call required the confession of their faith in him, instead of their faith in the nature gods of Canaan who are identified with the rains (6:3).

The theme of the divine call continues in 6:4-7:7. The emotional appeal is made vivid by reviewing a previous judgement (Hos 6:5, 6) and exposing their sins (6:8-7:7): murder (6:9), social evil (7:7) and mainly the Canaanite cult (6:10; 7:4-7). Even so they do not return to God (6:1; 7:16). Rather they return to other nations (8:9). Turning to the nations to find out their way is a desertion of Yahweh who alone leads their ways. The result of going away from the path is always punishment (7:13; 8:8).

A prophetic calling on Israel is described as a way of bringing about his repentance (Hos 14:1-3). The imperative verb “return” is addressed to the entire people in order to call them from worship of the Baals. The call echoes the sonship of Israel from the time of the exodus, “Israel is my firstborn son, let my son go that he may worship me” (Ex 4:22). On the one hand, they are now guilty of worshipping Canaanite gods and on the other hand, they might face the possibility of an involvement with an Assyrian god, caused by a political treaty (14:3). In their perilous situation the call to return is the demand and the main issue here.

2.5.3. The Father’s Rebuke and Punishment of the Rebellious Son

The Father expects him to respond to his call but his son goes away from his father to worship Baals. Now he rebukes his rebellious son. More than half of the book describes the issue of the Canaanite cult. The sexual language of whoredom, adultery, conception, and lover are all associated with the fertility gods, the Baals (Hos 2:1-7). They sacrificed to Baals with grain, wine, oil and incense at festivals, new moon days and on the Sabbath (2:8-13). Pagan practices were observed and the Baals were thanked for the spring crops (2:11). Canaanite ritualistic orgies were performed by Israel, who wailed and gashed themselves just as the prophets of Baals had done contesting with Elijah’s God on Mt. Carmel to gain answers to their prayers (7:14). In fact, large portions of the book deals with the warning, rebuke and punishment for the cult of the Baals as the foil for most of Hosea’s sayings.⁵⁴ The warning of Ephraim is introduced

⁵⁴ Ibid., 8.

by a historical preface which describes the present situation (cf. Hos 9:10; 10:1; 11:2; 12:3, 12). The decline and fall are the consequences of worshipping Baal (2:8; 9:10). The basic covenant requirement of Israel's relation to Yahweh was exclusive, but Israel had worshipped Baal since coming to the promised land (9:10). Despite the punishment they have suffered, Ephraim continues to sin. They believe Baal to be the god of fertility and life, so in their desperate need they prepare images for use in the adoration of Baal (cf. Hos 11:2). They seek salvation by means of what is actively sinful. The model of the bull-image emerges for use in private and public ritual. The general use of images was forbidden in the decalogue (Ex 20:4). Yet the worship of Baal is the national cult (cf. 1 Kings 19:18).

As a response to the rebellion the punishment is a fatherly duty to correct his son's misbehaviours. Their involvement in the Canaanite cults can be summarised as changing the glory of past experience with God into the shame of worshipping at the wrong altars (Hos 4:17). Hosea 4, 5 and 7:4-14 largely depict the punishment of Yahweh upon Israel because of its involvement with the cult of the Baals. (i) In chapter 4 there is an allusion to the goddess Asherah.⁵⁵ A distinction between the Baals and Asherah cannot be made clearly, but the expressions of the cultic performance are very similar: they eat, play the whore, seek oracles from wood, sacrifice on the tops of the mountains, make offerings upon the hills under the woods or stones, commit adultery, sacrifice with temple prostitutes, join with idols and indulge in sexual orgies. (ii) Chapter 5, a continuation of chapter 4, contains the judgement against Israel (5:8-14). The sentence begins with exposing their sins of prostitution (5:3, 4), and pursuing idols (5:11), which are associated with the Baal worship (cf. 5:7). As a result they do not know Yahweh, nor can they return to him. To know Yahweh is the basic formula for the relationship which Israel must have. (iii) Chapter 7:4-14 describes a public cult of Baal in Israel, practising it on hilltop shrines, which probably included the worship of Baal as well as Asherah.⁵⁶ The King, princes and the people altogether participate in that cult on the day of festival. Their attitude is so passionate that they are infatuated

⁵⁵ C. L. Seow, "The Book of Hosea", David Noel Freedman (ed.), *ABD* vol. 3, (New York: Doubleday, 1992), 295.

⁵⁶ G. I. Davies, *Hosea* (Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1993), 30.

with the cult through the night until the next morning. The festival including adultery, rain and wine is related to that cult (7:4, 14),

The punishment of Israel owing to their involvement with the Canaanite cult continues in a lengthy passage in chapters 9 and 10. The judgement begins with the conviction that they have been unfaithful to God by way of worshipping Baal at the threshing floor (Hos 9:1). The threshing floor and winepresses, which are the natural forces of the harvest festival, are involved with a fertility cult.⁵⁷ The three consequences of this cultic performance are described as imminent punishment upon them. (i) They will not enjoy the harvest, although the year's crops were already in hand. (ii) They will be driven into exile, and then have to eat the unclean food of a foreign land ruled by a strange god; (iii) sacrifice will cease because there will be no shrines to Yahweh. His judgement will put an end to their worship of him and they will learn that the festival itself was a pagan worship to blaspheme God (9:5). The judgement upon them carries on in terms of the exile (9:6, 15, 17; 10:6, 15), the barrenness (9:11), miscarriage (9:14), destruction of the altars and war (10:14), because of the worship of Baal (9:10, 15; 10:1, 5, 8). They reject the prophet's warning (9:7) and discredit the royal government (10:3-4).

Samaria's imminent fall to the forces of Assyria is anticipated in chapters 11:12-14:9. Ephraim has been reduced to a tiny enclave in the hills around Samaria. In chapter 12 Ephraim's treacherous idolatry and foolish self-reliance are compared to the dishonest ambition of Jacob. Such behaviour is viewed by the prophet as a family trait which has persisted despite Yahweh's continuing acts of rescue in the Exodus and through the prophets (Hos 12:9, 10, 13). "The people are kissing calves" (13:2) is a graphic summary of how God's people poured out their love to a metal image. Therefore, judgements are inevitable: four metaphors, such as "the morning mist", "the early dew", "chaff in a threshing floor" and "smoke escaping through a window", mean that Israel will be scattered soon (13:3). Ephraim's tragic fall will be followed by ferocious judgement (13:4-8) to which he is vulnerable (13:9-11). In fact, his stubborn folly issues in both a failure to repent and a desire to rebel which sign and seal the death warrant of the northern kingdom (13:12-16).

⁵⁷ James Luther Mays, 126.

2.5.4. Restoration of the Sonship in the Future

The future Israel will be called the “sons of the living God” (Hos 1:10), instead of the present situation of “you are not my children”, as implied in the names of Hosea’s children (Hos 1:2-9).⁵⁸ The contrast between the names of Hosea’s three children implying the judgement caused by the worship of Baals or the Canaanite cult and the restoration of sonship is the main theme of the first chapter. Thus it can be assumed that Israel is contrasted as a beloved son and an ungrateful son: the former indicates the one who came out of Egypt and the future good son, and the latter is described as such in the present time of Hosea (1:10). These two types of sons are Hosea’s way of looking at Israel. The condition is only that a son must follow his living father, not a dead god.⁵⁹ The living God who is described as the one who gives life and who possesses lordly might over the power of destruction, and who thus distinguishes himself from the Baals (Hos 6:2; 13:14; cf. 1:10-11), is related to the promise of a multitude of descendants like the sand of the sea which cannot be numbered, which recalls the promise made to Jacob in Genesis 32:12.

⁵⁸ The meaning of the naming of the three children symbolises Yahweh’s dealing with his people. (1) Jezreel is the name of a place in northern Israel, where the dead body of Jezebel (2 Kgs 9:37) and the dead bodies of seventy sons of Ahab were thrown. Jezreel is also a battle-field (Jud 4:13; 6:33). So this place indicates the murder of the Baal worshippers as Yahweh’s judgement. (2) The name of Lo-Ammi means “not my people”. The basic relational formula which describes the covenant founded at Sinai is: “You are my people, and I am your God” (Ex 6:7; Lev 26:12; Deut 26:17; 2 Sam 7:24; Jer 7:23; 11:4). The cause of breaking the covenant is apostasy, following and sacrificing to Baals. (3) The name Lo-Ruhamah means that Yahweh will not love them any longer. Love is the basic understanding of God’s dealing with Israel from the beginning as the firstborn son among the nations (Hos 11:2). But now they are to forfeit sonship because of the practice of the Canaanite cult.

⁵⁹ James Luther Mays, 151.

2.6. Malachi

The book of Malachi can be divided into four main sections: the first section (Mal 1:1-5), the second section (1:6-2:9), the third section (2:10-4:3), and the fourth section (4:4-6).⁶⁰ In these sections the leading passage in the first three sections of the book describes the relationship between Yahweh and Israel as a father-son relationship: "I have loved you" (Mal 1:2); "a son honours his father" (1:6); and "Have we not all one Father?" (2:10). The last section depicts the aim of a good relationship between human fathers and their sons: "He will turn the hearts of the fathers to the children, and the hearts of the children to their fathers" (4:6). These expressions seem to be a topic of dispute in each section.

2.6.1. The Presentation of the Two Sons as a Lesson of Filial Piety

The two sons of Isaac are contrasted to illustrate a lesson of filial piety for Israel. Malachi 1:2 mentions that Yahweh has loved Israel. Yahweh himself declares to them his unaltered and continuous love, which began far back in the history of his people and remained through their entire history until the present day. However, Israel's filial relationship to God remains in question. God has turned Edom's mountains into a wasteland and a habitation for the desert jackals. Edom's attempt to rebuild the ruins will fail. The guilt of this nation and its fate are expressed in special terms: the wicked country and a people always under the wrath of Yahweh.

Israel must have remembered Yahweh's ultimate dealing with the righteous and the wicked as they were expressed by the psalmist: "When I tried to understand all this, it was oppressive to me until I entered the sanctuary of God; then I understood their

⁶⁰ This structural division is in accordance with the opinions of most commentators, except for the third section, which is normally divided into four parts. Cf. Hinckley G. Mitchell, et. al. *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi and Jonah* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1980), 18-87; Ralph L. Smith, *Micah-Malachi* (Waco; Texas: Word Books, 1984), 199; Joyce G. Baldwin, *Haggai, Zechariah, Malachi: An Introduction and Commentary* (Leicester: IVP, 1972), 219; Beth Glazier-McDonald, *Malachi: The Divine Messenger* (Atlanta; Georgia: Scholars Press, 1987), v-vi. However, the four parts of the third section are closely connected with one another to be a unit. First, the third section talks about the common people's affairs. As the second section deals with the affairs of the priests concerning sacrificial worship, so the third section treats the matter of the common people concerning social and religious issues. Secondly, as the second section describes the day of judgement as the result of their sin, so the third section depicts it likewise. Thirdly, the (י) clause (4:2) indicates the interconnection with the previous statements (2:10-4:1) describing the exposure of their sin and the subsequent judgement and continues in the form of the opposite statement. Furthermore, the (י) clause (4:3) suggests an immediate connection with the previous statement (4:2). For this reason the third section can be considered as a unit.

destiny" (Ps 73:16-17). In Hosea 9:15 the statement that Yahweh hated Israel because of all their wickedness follows: "I will no longer love them." The effect will be that God will drive them out of his house, out of the promised land and away from his divine presence (cf. Mal 1:10). However, Malachi expects to see a conversion from apathy and it may well be that he expected an eschatological event which would demonstrate the universal dominion of the Lord (1:5).⁶¹

2.6.2. Israel's Leaders Must Honour Yahweh the Father

The second section commences with the emphasis that a son must honour his father (Mal 1:6), and the rest of this section is associated with the explanation of this issue. Malachi realised that the father-son relationship between God and Israel was broken. Instead of honour and obedience there was antipathy to Yahweh. The reason for Malachi's central charge against the priests is that they have dishonoured Yahweh by despising his name (Mal 1:6), and the particulars of that charge are spelled out: they offered blemished animals for sacrifice in violation of the law (1:8, 14; 2:8; cf. Eccl 12:5; Deut 15:21; Lev 1:3; 10) and they do not even think Yahweh is as important as a human governor (1:8) and they have not set their heart to honour him (2:2). Here the purpose of Malachi is to lead them to honour him. His name is to be honoured by the priest and thus subsequently by the people and among nations. Yahweh's name is great so that he is to be honoured and acknowledged (1:11) and feared (1:14) among nations. These passages illustrate the fact that Yahweh is not honoured with blemished sacrifices. To honour God is defined here as offering worthy sacrifices.

A son's dishonouring of his father leads to inevitable consequences. The priests' position as the mediator between Yahweh and his people and as leader of the people demanded a corresponding faithfulness in the performance of their duties. They were urged to listen to Yahweh (Mal 2:1). But Yahweh would send a curse upon them if they were not going to honour him (2:1-2). The content of the curse is twofold: first, the priesthood will be removed and they will be despised and humiliated before the people (2:4, 9) and secondly, the significance of harsh words about closing the temple doors, useless fires on the altar and the unacceptability of offerings implies the exile or destruction of the country. This strong word seems to be more than the cessation of individual priesthood (1:10; cf. 1:11).

⁶¹ Joyce G. Baldwin, 224.

2.6.3. The Common People also Must Honour Yahweh the Father

The reason why Malachi emphasises that Yahweh is the father of the people and they have one father is that he wants to point out the broken heart of a father who faces family feuds. They are brothers and sisters who have one and the same father in a family, and therefore they should display affection and act without treachery in their dealing with one another. However, Yahweh confronts them with a twofold sin that has social and religious consequences: marriage with foreign women and divorce of legitimate wives. The people betray the wives of their youth by divorcing them (Mal 2:14, 16). The results of their actions are that they will not only be cut off socially and religiously from their people and God (2:13) but also their new marriage will be apostasy against God. Malachi asserts that intermarriage not only profanes the covenant, but also constitutes an act of betrayal of Israelite wives. (2:14-16). It is a violation of the bond which unites them among themselves and with God in one and the same family. Moreover, by marrying to daughters-in-law of foreign countries, Israel combines the worship of God with the gods of their wives (2:13). This is a turning away from Yahweh, and this is to dishonour him.

Another issue confronted by them is an unfaithfulness in tithing. As the priests dishonour Yahweh by offering unacceptable sacrifices, so the people as a whole dishonour him by the failure to offer a tithe. The verdict is against the eighth commandment. But he invites them at this point to test him. If they bring the tithes to the temple he will pour out on them an immeasurable blessing and the nations will call them blessed (Mal 3:12). Here obedience is seen as the precondition for receiving God's blessing, which is expressed in terms of the fertility of the soil.

However, the day of judgement is inevitable due to ungratefulness. This is described as a refiner's fire purifying silver, paralleled to the coming of the day like a furnace (Mal 4:1). The coming day is caused by two main sins. First, the people dared to dishonour their father God by breaking the covenant of their forefathers, that is, divorce of a covenant woman and remarriage of a foreign woman, which caused a conflict between fathers and sons (cf. 4:5). Secondly, the law that tithes and offerings should be paid at a specific place is broken. This is condemned as the sin of theft of God's possession. Thus these two factors are associated with the failure to honour their father God, particularly in the matter of sacrificial worship. The issue is a matter of the purity of the worship which they did not keep. The impurity of worship is dishonouring

to Yahweh. However, the day of judgement holds no fear for those who revere his name or honour him. This also applies to those who have repented. The result of this is that the sun of righteousness will rise with healing (4:2) and that the victory over the wicked will come to them (4:3).

2.6.4. A Good Relationship between Human Fathers and Their Sons as an Association with Honouring Yahweh the Father

Filial piety for Yahweh is linked to that of a human father. In other words, if the people do not honour Yahweh they cannot honour a human father, thus causing family feuds and social disorder (Mal 2:10). Conversely, if they honour Yahweh they can honour their father and keep the family in order and peace, and subsequently society in order. Chapter 4:4-6 seems to say that the good relationship between Yahweh and Israel as a father-son relationship must precede a good relationship between human fathers and their sons. The previous three sections dealt with the necessity of filial piety for a good relationship between Yahweh and Israel.

Now our attention is drawn to the future hope of the harmony of human fathers and sons. The purpose of Elijah's coming is to not only to call Israel to repent (cf. 1 Ki 18:20-46) but also to resolve the family problems between fathers and their sons, which are created by the mixed marriage and divorces (Mal 2:10-16). Thus his coming is associated with re-establishing the covenant entered between their fathers and Yahweh, the covenant being broken by mixed marriages (2:10). The good harmony between fathers and sons is emphasised by the warning of a curse (4:6). The curse as a result of the broken relationship caused by the son's rebellion against his father is an emphatic challenge to him. However, the Father's compassion still remains in the midst of judgement. His compassion has a condition, that is, filial piety: Yahweh is "as a man who spares his son who serves him" (3:17).

Conclusion

In conclusion the continuity between Confucian filial piety and biblical filial piety is established. First, the figure of a human father represents extraordinary legal and social power and must have carried strong connotations of authority. Yet in real life at home a human father is not necessarily the stern and distant disciplinarian that is sometimes made out in the stereotype. Intimate and respectful connotations are envisioned in the languages of parents and children in Confucian literature. A human father in the Old Testament is described not only as a begetter who is the source of life but also as a caretaker who carries, loves and has compassion upon his son and a disciplinarian who chastens and rebukes disobedient sons. Likewise, Yahweh the Father is described in the same as a human father in terms of his relationship to his son. In fact, Yahweh and Israel are in a father-son relationship. The six books demonstrated the relationship between Yahweh and Israel as a father-son relationship. Yahweh is depicted as the Father who is not only a begetter who gives life but also a caretaker who bears, brings up, carries, loves and has compassion upon his sons and a disciplinarian who rebukes and punishes his rebellious son Israel.

Secondly, as filial piety was emphasised as the central theme in the Confucian Classics and as a most important practice in early Korean literature, so filial piety for Yahweh was emphasised as a central theme in the six books. (i) In Exodus, filial piety for Yahweh was demanded in worshipping him. Moses was sent to lead Israel to worship him. In response Israel obeyed the instructions of Yahweh to worship him. The obedience of Israel and the worship of Yahweh are central to Exodus 25-40 in terms of preparation, the making of the media for worship and the actual practice of worship. (ii) In Deuteronomy, obedience to Yahweh and the worship of Yahweh were much underlined in the book. The emphasis was due to the ungratefulness and disobedience of Israel. To the disobedient son, the Fatherhood of Yahweh was highlighted and Israel was urged to obey him. Israel finally obeyed him. (iii) Isaiah also stressed a filial piety that pervades the whole book. About half of the book deals with the themes that we have discussed: roughly speaking, chapters 1-3, 30, 48, 57-58, 63-64 contain the theme of rebellious sons; chapters 7, 8, 9, 11, 25-27, 46, 49, 51, 54, 60-62 include the theme of the son's confession to the Father who cares for his sons; chapters 1:2-6, 23:13-14, 44:9-20, 46:1-13 comprise the theme of the son's worship of Yahweh; and chapters 12, 25, 26, 42:10-16 contain the theme of the son's praise to Yahweh. (iv) Jeremiah

highlighted filial piety: a lengthy portion concerning the rebuke of idolatry suggests strong emphasis on the worship of Yahweh; the command to obey Yahweh is also a main part of filial piety; the discipline of a son is a lesson of filial piety, the repentance of a son from idolatry and his return to Yahweh is a preparation of filial piety and the restoration of Israel is a result of filial piety. (v) The whole book of Hosea dealt with three themes (the love of Yahweh the Father, the Father's rebuke and punishment and the Father's call for Israel to depart from the idolatry of the Canaanite cult) as the main concepts. These three themes cover the whole book, interrelating with one another. (vi) Filial piety for Yahweh the Father was emphasised in the whole book of Malachi. The leaders (the priests) should honour Yahweh by offering acceptable sacrifices and the people should honour him by keeping the law of the tithe for sincere worship.

CHAPTER FIVE: The Fulfilment of Filial Piety (III): *Imitatio Christi***Introduction**

In the preceding chapter we have seen that Confucian filial piety in the Confucian Classics and early Korean literature is in continuity with biblical filial piety in the Old Testament. This continuity, however, is not enough for the realised fulfilment of filial piety, because the Confucian concept of filial piety is not just a matter of intellectual study but a moral mandate requiring its practice on the part of the learners or followers. Israel did not become the filial son towards Yahweh the Father, although filial piety was stressed throughout the biblical narratives. Rather Israel showed little filial piety towards Yahweh, instead Israel was ungrateful and rebellious. In this regard the biblical moral model to follow must be discussed. Obviously Jesus is the role model to be followed. The Four Gospels in the New Testament provide an excellent vantage point for surveying the filial respect of Jesus towards his human parents and the filial piety of Jesus towards the Father. For this examination two questions are asked: (i) to what extent does the filial respect of Jesus towards his human parents relate to the filial piety of Jesus towards the Father? (ii) To what extent does the filial piety of Jesus towards the Father affect his disciples in their filial piety towards the Father?

In answering these questions, we will first examine Jesus' filial relationship with his human parent(s). In the Synoptics there are four main passages expressing Jesus' filial attitude to his human parent(s): his emphasis on the fifth commandment (Mt 15:2-6; 19:19), obedient son (Lk 2:48-51), the new family of God (Mk 7:8-13; 10:19) and preference for God (Mt 15:3-6; 19:19). In John there are two passages that show the attitude of Jesus towards his human mother in the very beginning (Jn 2:1-12) and at the very end of his ministry (Jn 19:25-27). Here, we will look into the filial obedience of Jesus which transfers from the human parent to the Father. These texts provide very important presentations of Jesus showing filial responsibility towards not only his human parents but also the Father. Secondly, we will deal with the filial piety of Jesus towards the Father. We will investigate the meaning of the Father in relation to the Son and the meaning of the Son of God, and how the Four Gospels present the significance of $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ and $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ in the relationship between the Father and the Son. The Synoptics deal only with $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$, and John deals with $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ and $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$. *Thirdly*, we will

look at what it means that the disciples or his followers honoured God or the Father through their obedience in following Jesus. The study of the verb δοξάζω in the Four Gospels will help lead us to conclusions regarding these points.

1. The Significance of the Fifth Commandment (Mt 15:3-6; 19:19)

As against the accusation of religious leaders that the disciples did not observe the tradition of the elders that a man should wash his hands before a meal, Jesus' defence by the law of filial piety is striking. Instead of a direct reply on the issue raised by them, the issue of the fifth commandment raised by Jesus seems to be irrelevant to the answer. It nevertheless indicates the significance of the fifth commandment as well as the rebuke of their unfaithfulness to it. Here Jesus stresses filial piety in several ways.

(1) The commandment to honour your father and your mother means in this context that you should provide them physical care in their old age. Moses' commandment (Ex 20:12) applies to all people in Israel while Jesus' reciting it goes directly to the religious leaders, although it implies a universal application. Here, three things are to be noted. *First*, Jesus rebukes them for breaking the fifth commandment and following their traditions. They surely distinguish between the two and regard the former as superior to the latter but the choice is dependent upon their benefit. *Secondly*, Jesus reminds them of God's penalty for breaking it (cf. Ex 21:17). The penalty is a death sentence, which is a fearful warning against a son who is rebellious toward his parents. Jesus quoted and affirmed the fifth commandment. However, Jesus' attitude towards the woman caught in the act of adultery is different, although the penalty of breaking the seventh commandment is also to be sentenced to death (Jn 8:5-11). It is significant that Jesus acknowledges the death penalty over the breaking the fifth commandment, while he forgives her sin of breaking the seventh commandment and keeps her from being stoned to death. This contrast emphasises the importance of filial piety and reflects the seriousness of that issue. *Thirdly*, the religious leaders' position over the people is very influential in teaching the law and tradition. Their teaching and deeds on this issue must affect the people. If they teach and keep the fifth commandment the people will follow it; conversely, if they do not teach and keep it the people would not follow it.

(2) The contrast between the commandment of God (or the word of God) and the tradition on filial responsibility is shown to emphasise it. The phrase "God said" (Mt 15:3) indicates the absolute demand of the fifth commandment, while "you say" (Mt 15:5), which makes a sharp antithesis to "God said", means the tradition of the elders. Jesus rebukes Jewish leaders for setting their tradition above the word of God. For Jesus the word of God has an authority which is different from the regulations of the rabbis. Jesus denies the validity of such oral tradition.

(3) The word δῶρον in Matthew, equivalent to κορβάν in Mark (7:11), refers to a gift or sacrifice particularly offered to God. This scheme means that the financial responsibility of a son for his old parents is evaded with the approval of the scribes by a convenient scheme of Old Testament provision for oaths. In other words this convenient declaration leaves the property still at the disposal of the one who made the vow, but deprives his parents of any right to it. Such a pious fraud is in direct opposition to the fifth commandment.¹ Jesus therefore reinforces the fifth commandment.

(4) However, what is more important here is that Jesus also emphasises the honour of the Father. The parallel between Matthew 15:3-6 and 15:7-9 shows that the significance of filial responsibility towards both living parents and God the Father is unified as a paired theme. Angered by the callous breaking of the fifth commandment, Jesus reprimands them by his reference to Isaiah (Mt 15:7-9), which describes Israel's false honour and worship towards Yahweh. Honour and worship are related to the filial piety of Israel towards Yahweh the Father, as we have seen in the Old Testament. The reason why the identification of religious leaders in Jesus' time is made with the Israelites at the time of Isaiah in terms of dishonouring the parents and Yahweh respectively is that filial disrespect towards living parents is closely connected with filial disrespect towards God the Father and possibly vice versa.

¹ W. F. Albright and C. S. Mann, *Matthew* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1971), 184; W. C. Allen, 164.

2. Jesus as the Son of Joseph and the Son of God

2.1. Obedient Son (Lk 2:48-51)

Jesus' human parents think in terms of his filial insubordination only because he failed to do what they expected him to do. The three days of anxiety searching for Jesus results in the intensity behind Mary's rebuke.² Jesus' response seems to be harsh but it has a different connotation.

(1) "Why were you searching for me?" (Lk 2:49) This question indicates that Jesus expected that they would realise that if he were not with them he would be in the temple. It is not necessary to see this as rebuke or accusation on Jesus' part. Rather, it is better to see this as an expression of surprise. Due to his parents' previous experiences, as stated in chapters 1 and 2, we can assume that Joseph and Mary could understand his unique behaviour and relationship to God.

(2) "Did you not know I must be in my Father's house?" (Lk 2:49) The phrase (ἐν τοῖς τοῦ πατρός μου) lacks the noun for "house" or "affairs". This can be translated in two ways. The translation "in my Father's house" has often been favoured because it fits the narrative of Jesus' parents searching for Jesus and finding him in the temple. The temple is called God's house in Luke 19:46. Another translation "about my Father's business" also fits the context in terms of Jesus' involvement with the teachers as an anticipation of his public ministry. The statement connotes Jesus' forthcoming ministry with great expectation and Jesus' positive response to his heavenly Father's imperative (cf. Lk 4:43; 9:22; 11:42; 17:25; 22:37). Here we can see Jesus' unique identity which has the complexity of the relationship as the Son of God and as a son in the family of Joseph.³

(3) But "He was obedient to them" (Lk 2:51). Jesus' obedience to his parents is stressed to avoid the misunderstanding that he was disobedient to them in Jerusalem. Moreover, the phrase "in divine and human favour" (Lk 2:52) can illustrate that Jesus remains faithful as both a son of his earthly parents and the Son of God.⁴ Tradition says that before his public ministry Jesus had served his parents faithfully, and even so as the eldest son of Mary in the absence of his earthly father.

² John Nolland, *Luke 1-9:20* (Dallas, Texas: Word Books, 1989), 130.

³ Ibid., 134.

⁴ T. W. Manson, *The Gospel of Luke* (London: Hodder and Stroughton, 1948), 23-24.

2.2. The New Family of God (Mk 3:31-35)

The nuance of Jesus' sayings concerning families could be overlooked and could lead us to misunderstand that he might behave offensively toward his human mother and reject his family.⁵ But Jesus emphasises the filial piety of the Father. We will look into three sayings of Jesus which focus on the account of family.

(1) "Who are my mother and my brothers?" (Mk 3:33) When Jesus' mother and his brothers want to see him, his response in the form of a question implies an impression of disharmony between Jesus and his natural family. Jesus' family obviously heard about the charge that he was insane from his friends or close relatives (οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ) and his subsequent trial in custody (Mk 3:21). Jesus' family also heard about the charge of his being possessed by Beelzebub (Mk 3:22). The negative motive is not for but against the ministry of Jesus. Thus Jesus seems to ignore them instead of welcoming them. But in the above statement, there is no indication that Jesus refused to acknowledge his relationship with his family, although undoubtedly his words give the impression that Jesus had separated from his family for his ministry unto the Father.

(2) Jesus' answer "Here are my mother and my brothers" (Mk 3:34) to his own question could surprise both his family and the audience. The answer appears to be seen as a sharp contrast between Jesus' natural family and those who are with him as a new family. Jesus identifies his new family on the basis of response to him rather than on physical kinship.⁶ His family includes "a crowd sat around him" (Mk 3:32) and this crowd includes the twelve as well as a larger group in the context of Mark 3:13-19, 20-21 and 3:31-35. However, his natural family is not excluded, as the following demonstrates.

(3) The statement "Whoever does the will of God is my brother and sister and mother" (Mk 3:35) introduces a further answer to Jesus' own question of Mark 3:33. The identity of Jesus' family expands its scope, including not only those around him but also those who do the will of God. This opens up the possibility that his natural family could become also his brother, sister and mother, if they do the will of God. This statement is connected with the parable of the good sower in the following chapter. The

⁵ Robert Hamerton-Kelly, *God the Father: Theology and Patriarchy in the Teaching of Jesus* (Philadelphia: Fortress, 1978), 64.

⁶ Robert A. Guelich, *Mark 1-8:26* (Dallas; Texas: Word Books, 1989), 182.

parable describes two kinds of response to Jesus' ministry: acceptance and rejection. Acceptance of Jesus is doing the will of God in this context, but it should be initiated by hearing the word of Jesus. Therefore this statement indicates neither that Jesus opposes his human relationship with them, nor that he ignores or denies his family tie.

In fact, he represents "a new family of God" in this passage. Regarding the "new family" issue, Luke 8:19-21 illustrates it in a more positive way compared to that of Mark. Luke says nothing about the family's motive in coming to Jesus, which might seem hostile, and explains their position outside as just being due to the crowd around Jesus.⁷ Luke abbreviates the question (1) and the answer (2). Luke also omits the reference to Jesus' friends and their efforts to restrain him (cf. Mk 3:20-21). Luke compresses the scene, omitting any reference to Jesus' sisters, and makes a contrast between the family outside and the crowd seated around Jesus. The result is that any allegation of conflict with his physical family has been excised from the Gospel story, while granting those who hear and do the word of God equal status to his family.

Furthermore, looking at the pericope (Lk 8:19-21), the passage can be interpreted as introducing the definition and qualification of a new family member. It places Jesus' words immediately after the interpretation of the parable of the seeds and the soils and the appended statements. By altering his words so that they echo "the word of God" from Luke 8:11 and "those are the ones who hear" from 8:15, the pericope balances the reference to the woman who followed Jesus at the beginning of the chapter and the references to the twelve in verse 1 and his disciples in 8:9. Taken together, these references form a complete set of examples of those who hear the word of God and follow it: the twelve, the group of women who followed him, the disciples, and the natural family of Jesus.

In Luke, Jesus' human mother is presented in the family narrative as good ground which hears God's word and keeps it. Mary kept every word spoken about her child in her heart and reflected on it (Lk 1:38; 2:19). She brought the word of the angel to Elizabeth and her proclamation of it multiplied it so much that it overflowed in the Magnificat. Mary was Jesus' mother not only because she gave him human life but also because she heard God's word and put it into practice. Therefore, Jesus' words do not

⁷ A. R. C. Learney, *A Commentary to St. Luke* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1958), 153.

oppose filial piety towards human parents, rather emphasise more filial piety towards the Father.

2.3. Preference for God (Mt 8:21-22; cf. Lk 9:60)

The burial of one's deceased father was a religious duty that took precedence over all others, including study of the law.⁸ This is an act which is in accord with filial piety enjoined by the Decalogue. This burial was in Genesis considered an act of filial affection and gratitude toward one's father (Gen 50:1-2, 12-13). Therefore, the man's request would seem quite reasonable and appropriate. However, the request meets a peremptory refusal. The response of Jesus seems to be a discouragement of his filial deed and an opposition to filial piety. In this regard four main points may be made for a better understanding of the passage.

(1) This case is to be considered as an exception. The Old Testament supplies a precedent for exempting, for religious reasons, certain persons like a Nazarene or the high priest from the duty of burying one's parents (Num 6:6-7; Lev 21:11). If this consecration did not allow them to attend even their father's funeral, Jesus' demand is no less absolute.⁹ Discipleship in a sense is a special office. Jesus chooses a select group to be with him and to engage in missionary work.¹⁰ During discipleship, whether it is for a life-time or part-time, it is reasonable to waive the duty of a son.

(2) In this sense discipleship takes precedence over family obligation (cf. Mt 10:3-39; 12:46-50; 19:29). In Jeremiah 16:1-9 the word of the Lord comes to the prophet and tells him not to take a wife, not to enter the house of mourning or lament and not to go into the house of fasting. In Ezekiel 24 the word of the Lord instructs Ezekiel on the day before his wife dies not to mourn for the dead or to eat the bread of mourners. In both cases the prophets seem to transgress custom in order to proclaim through unusual actions the coming judgement of God, but they are not setting

⁸ I. Howard Marshall, *The Gospel of Luke: A Commentary on the Greek Text* (Exeter: The Paternoster Press, 1978), 411.

⁹ R. T. France, *Matthew* (Leicester: IVP, 1985), 160.

¹⁰ W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison Jr., *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Gospel According to Saint Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1988), 55.

themselves against Moses.¹¹ Jesus' prophetic consciousness in the proclamation of the kingdom is connected with his discipleship (Lk 9:60).

(3) The immediate context in which Jesus speaks is an urgent situation. The scene is readiness to follow Jesus on a missionary journey. The two cases of discipleship and its challenge in Matthew 8:18-22 and the three cases in Luke 9:57-62 indicate the urgency of the present situation.¹² The immediately following context is that the crowd follow him and the twelve disciples get into the boat (Mt 8:23), and the sending of the seventy-two disciples for missionary work (Lk 10:1-16). This scene is in a broader sense on the path to Jerusalem. The words of Jesus to two disciples in Matthew and three disciples in Luke are connected with the beginning of the journey to the final destination. The road to follow Jesus means to follow him even unto death for the glory of God.

(4) The meaning of "the dead" (τοὺς νεκρούς) can give us a clue in understanding Jesus' response. It could be "the spiritually dead" metaphorically, in contrast to obviously "the physically dead", so that it looks pertinent to interpret "let the spiritually dead bury the physically dead."¹³ But "the dead" can more likely be those who have not felt the call to follow Jesus (cf. Mt 15:24, 32; Jn 5:25).¹⁴ This is another way of saying that one who is circumcised and consecrated to Judaism can be regarded as one who is separated from "the dead" people, and who joins to a community where he can live.¹⁵ All people cannot be disciples of Jesus and thus the "dead" should be left to take care of one another.¹⁶ Other members of the family or relatives can do it instead.

¹¹ Ibid., 57.

¹² G. H. P. Thomson, *The Gospel According to Luke* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1979), 159.

¹³ I. Howard Marshall, 411.

¹⁴ W. C. Allen, *The International Critical Commentary on the Gospel According to St Matthew* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 1909), 82; I. Howard Marshall, 411.

¹⁵ George W. Buchanan, *The Gospel According to Matthew* (Lewiston: Mellen Biblical Press, 1996), 399.

¹⁶ George W. Buchanan, *The Consequences of the Covenant* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1970), 110-49.

3. Transference of Filial Obedience of Jesus

3.1. From Human Parent to Heavenly Father (Jn 2:3-4, 11) (I)

Jesus is described as an obedient son to his human mother in a dialogue between Jesus and Mary at the wedding in Cana. During the wedding Mary makes a request and Jesus responds positively. As a result, the changing of water into wine took place and the banquet ended happily. Here we can assume that the widowed mother would consult with her eldest son about the problem, and he should respond to his mother. However, we should examine further the implications of Jesus' words towards his mother. This could be misunderstood as disobeying her, but it rather implies the honour of the Father.

When the wine gave out, the mother of Jesus said to him, 'They have no wine.' And Jesus said to her, 'woman, what is that to you and me? My hour has not yet come' (Jn 2:3-4).

Here in John 2:3-4 three things need to be investigated. (i) The son's calling his mother "woman" (γύναι) is most unusual, and it also may be "courteous".¹⁷ It is also used in Jesus' dying hours when he entrusts Mary to the beloved disciple. It is likely that Jesus used that term to show his unique role between physical and spiritual relationships. That is to say, he is not primarily the son of Mary but the Son of God.¹⁸ Furthermore, it could indicate that there begins a new relationship between Jesus and his mother as he enters into his public ministry. In other words, a son's obligation towards his mother seems to fade away, and at the same time Jesus as the Son of God emerges to be obedient to the Father.¹⁹ (ii) The phrase "what is that to me and to you" (τί μοι καὶ σοί) (Jn 2:4) seems to be at a glance one of refusal or sharp criticism,²⁰ but it is neither rude, nor callous on the part of Jesus.²¹ It was commonly used in biblical literature to mean "so what?",²² suggesting that Jesus and Mary had no obligation for the shortage

¹⁷ D. A. Carson, *The Gospel According to John* (Leicester: IVP, 1998), 170.

¹⁸ Lesley F. Massey, *Women in the New Testament: An Analysis of Scripture in the light of New Testament Era and Culture* (London: McFarland, 1977), 10.

¹⁹ Leon Morris, *The Gospel According to John* (London: Marshall, Morgan & Scott, 1911), 181.

²⁰ Lesley F. Massey, 10.

²¹ D. A. Carson, 170-71.

²² Lesley F. Massey, 10.

of wine at the wedding party. It could also indicate an anticipation of her faith. Like the Cananite woman who was refused on her first approach to Jesus, but who persevered and was praised for her faith (Mt 15:21-28), so Mary was refused on her approach as his mother. But when she responded as a believer, her faith was acknowledged.²³ (iii) The phrase “my hour is not yet come” (Jn 2:4) could mean that “it is not yet time for me to act” in this context. This remark seems to postpone or avoid a helping hand. Yet we should notice a series of passages containing “hour” (ὥρα) or “time” (καίρος), which are the same thing after all, describing whether it has come or not.²⁴ All the cases of his time or hour are associated with his glorification, that is, his passion or death, which refers to the honour of the Father.²⁵

Thus that phrase is not a refusal of his mother’s request, rather it is an anticipation of the consummation of his ministry at its beginning.²⁶ Moreover, the first miracle ends with the revelation of Jesus’ glory, which refers to the honour of the Father (Jn 2:11). By examining the above we can see that the passage signifies the beginning of his ministry, which is a transitional stage of obedience from his human parent to the Father.

3.2. From Human Parent to Heavenly Father (Jn 19:25-27) (II)

This passage describes his last moment at the crucifixion, in which Jesus expresses his filial affection towards his mother. However, Jesus’ two statements omit to call her “mother”. It is very natural for a son to call his mother “mother”. Why then did he not do so? Why did he call her “your mother” to the beloved disciples? These statements could be misunderstood and lead to a conclusion that Jesus did not show filial respect towards his mother.

When Jesus saw his mother and the disciple whom he loved standing beside her, he said to his mother, ‘Woman, **here is your son.**’ Then he said to the disciple, ‘**Here is your mother.**’ And from that hour the disciple took her into his own home. (Jn 19:26-27).

²³ Ibid., 173.

²⁴ Ibid., 171.

²⁵ Rudolf Bultmann, *The Gospel of John* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1971), 116.

²⁶ Cf. George R. Beasley-Murray, *John* (Waco; Texas: Word Books, 1987), 36; D. A. Carson, 172; Leon Morris, 182.

However, Jesus' two statements signify his continual filial piety toward her. (i) The phrase "here is your son" indicates that Jesus acknowledges himself as born of Mary. Jesus affirms for the first time that he is her son. His identification as her son signifies to Mary that he has been a faithful son. In fact, Jesus' filial duty toward his mother was seen at his boyhood (Lk 2:48-51), the beginning of his ministry (Jn 2:1-12) and now at the end of his ministry (Jn 19:25-27). It could be assumed that he fulfilled filial duty during his ministry, given that it is during his middle period of ministry that Jesus emphasises the fifth commandment (Mt 15:3-6; 19:19; Mk 7:8-15; 10:19), although in the Gospel of John we cannot see the evidence. (ii) Jesus uses "your mother" to his beloved disciple for the continuity of her care. Jesus makes sure that his death will not leave her desolate and thus he arranges that his filial duty should be continued by his disciple. The fact that his disciple took her into his own home implies more than physical provision, that is, filial responsibility. Jesus fulfilled his filial duty to the end.

However, the reason why Jesus does not call her "mother", although the author states that Mary is his mother three times in two verses (Jn 19:25-26), is because he has only the heavenly Father. The two phrases "your son" and "your mother" are sufficient to show Jesus' filial duty towards his human mother, while the most frequent use of "my Father" and "Father" is the sign of the Father-centred or the Father-oriented life ministry of Jesus.

What is more important here is that the case of the filial duty of Jesus towards his human parent, like the case of the wedding at Cana (Jn 2:3-4), not only parallels his filial piety unto the Father but also the former leads to the latter. In other words, the miracle of changing water into wine was caused by Jesus' obedience towards his human mother and it resulted in honour being given to the Father (Jn 2:11). Likewise, at the moment before he dies, Jesus fulfils his filial duty towards his human mother and gives honour to his Father in heaven by his death.

4. The Filial Piety of Jesus towards the Father

4.1. The Meaning of the Father

What is the meaning of the Father in relation to the Son? There are several verbs (beget, love, know, commit, send, reveal and speak) which can give the meaning of the Father. At the same time all these verbs connote the Son's meaning in relation to the Father.

(1) The Father "begets" (γεννάω) the Son in his Spirit. The father, first and always, means to be one in relation to the birth of his son. The verb "to beget" (γεννάω) is chiefly used of a human father's begetting of his son (cf. Mt 1:2-16), and likewise "to beget" (γεννάω) is used to describe the Father's begetting of the Son (Mt 1:20; 2:1, 4; Lk 1:35; cf. Acts 13:33; Heb 1:5; 5:5). The Father who "begets" defines and determines his position over the Son, as the significance of "father" over "son".²⁷ In the Gospel of John, however, the words μονογενής (Jn 1:18), μονογενῆ (Jn 3:16) and μονογεοῦς (Jn 3:18) are used of the Father's begetting of the Son in a unique way in which Jesus was and is the divine Son. The Father in the father-son relationship comes first and then the Son knows the Father.

(2) The Father "loves" (ἀγαπάω, φιλέω) the Son (Jn 15:9). The verbs ἀγαπάω and φιλέω, which are not different in meaning here (Jn 5:20; 10:17), occur in a similar declaration of the love of the Father for the Son (Jn 5:20). Because of his love for the Son, the Father has given the Spirit to him without limit and has placed everything in his hands (cf. Mt 11:2; Lk 10:22). The love of the Father for the Son is displayed in the continuous disclosure of all he does to the Son. In response the love of the Son for the Father is displayed in the perfect obedience that issues on the cross (Jn 14:31). The love of the Father for the Son is linked with the obedience of the Son to the Father (Jn 10:17).²⁸

(3) The Father "knows" (γινώσκω) the Son (Jn 10:15; cf. Mt 11:27; Lk 22:29). The verb γινώσκειν does not denote a rational or theoretical knowledge, but rather it

²⁷ In an anthropological sense, a father's authority over his son in Israel was absolute. The meaning of the Father over the Son can be similar. Jesus' cry of "abba father" in Gethsemane implies the significance of the Father's authority over the Son. Furthermore, the above verbs accompanied with the Father seem to imply the relationship of the Father to the Son.

²⁸ D. A. Carson, 388.

denotes an inward realisation.²⁹ There is no indication of what the Father knows of the Son in this passage (Jn 10:11-18), but the Son's knowledge directed towards the Father suggests that the Father's knowledge directed towards the Son can be discerned because the mutual knowledge of both is identical. This knowledge is related to three things: the Son knows the Father sent him (Jn 7:29), the Father knows that the Son will keep the word of the Father (Jn 8:55) and the Father knows that the Son will lay down his life for the sheep (Jn 10:15). The Father knows that the Son will be obedient to the Father in carrying out the Father's redemptive work.

(4) The Father "has committed" (παράδωμι) all things to the Son (Mt 11:26-28). The Father has placed all things in the Son's hands (Jn 4:34), has allowed him to have life in himself (Jn 5:26), has given authority to execute judgement (Jn 5:22, 27) and has given authority over all people (Jn 17:2). He has given the believers to him (Jn 6:37, 39; 10:29; 17:2, 6, 9, 24; 18:9). The Father has given him his name (Jn 17:11, 12) and his glory (Jn 17:22, 24). The Father neither acts nor lets himself be known apart from his Son. He exercises his authority in secret communion with the Son.³⁰

(5) The Father "sent" (ἀποστέλλω, πέμπω) the Son (Jn 20:21; cf. 3:16; 17:18) and the Spirit to the world (Jn 14:16) before Jesus and the Spirit began, for the salvation of the world. The verbs ἀποστέλλω and πέμπω are used in the literary sense of one person sending another to perform particular tasks.³¹ The formula "The Father who sent me" (ὁ πέμψας με πατήρ) or similar forms, which occur twenty-three times in the Gospel of John, is often found in contexts in which Jesus is associated with obedient acts for the sender. Most occurrences posit God or the Father as the subject and Jesus as the object. The Father's sending of his Son indicates the mission of the Father through his Son.

(6) The Father "reveals" (ἀποκαλύπτω) Jesus as his Son to the people (Mt 3:17; Mk 1:11). The Father initially bears witness to the Son (Jn 8:18) and makes him known in his presence and power. The heavenly voice, which is the voice of God, announces Jesus as his Son before the public in the baptismal narrative (Mk 1:11; Mt 3:17) and

²⁹ Rudolf Bultmann, 381.

³⁰ Tom Smail, *The Forgotten Father: Rediscovery of the Heart of the Christian Gospel* (London: Paternoster, 1996), 55.

³¹ Leon Morris, 250.

before the inner circle of his disciples in the transfiguration (Mk 12:6; Mt 17:5). Peter's confession of Jesus as the Son of God is attributed to the action of the Father: "Blessed are you, Simon son of Jonah, for this was not revealed to you by man, but by my Father in heaven" (Mt 16:17). The Father is the origin of revelation. The revelation is described in terms of the Son's mission from the Father.³²

(7) The Father "speaks" (λαλέω) to the Son what he wants (Jn 12:50). The Father reveals to the Son what his plan is in world history in what he says and does (Jn 5:28). This is the basis of his teaching through the parables and other lessons, which are the languages in which the Father is able to speak to his Son.³³ The Father also speaks to the Son in prayer. Prayer is the means of the communication of the Son with the Father and of answering communication of the Father with the Son. In prayer at Gethsemane the Son listens to what the Father says to him, as he did during his whole ministry. There have been all these intimate conversations with his Father.³⁴ Through prayer he sees the Father doing (Jn 5:19) and undertaking redemption which can be achieved by his sacrifice, and, therefore, he attunes his will to his Father (Mk 14:36).

As above, the Father's actions (love, know, send, reveal, speak and commit) always come first and then the Son's actions follow accordingly. The Father initiates and exercises his authority over the Son. The Father, who "beget", particularly, defines and determines the Father's position over the Son and the Son's nature and destiny. At the same time all these same verbs imply the Son's submission to the will of the Father.

4.2. The Son of God as the Obedient Son

The Son of God (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ θεοῦ) in the four Gospels is described in terms of Jesus' filial relationship with the Father and as his obedient Son. (1) The description of Jesus as the Son of God occurs four times in the Gospel of Mark (1:1; 3:11; 5:7; 15:39). This description, however, is expanded if we include "my Son" in the baptismal narrative (Mk 1:11), the transfiguration account (Mk 9:7) and "the son" (Mk 12:6) in the parable of the wicked tenants, which alludes to Jesus as such. The Son of God in this book suggests the filial relationship of Jesus, who obeys God in his earthly ministry

³² John Painter, *John: Witness and Theologian* (London: SPCK, 1975), 27.

³³ Tom Smail, 88.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 90.

and even to his death. The Son of God in the beginning of this Gospel (Mk 1:1) appears to be a point of departure for the whole understanding of Jesus.³⁵ This could be a title for the book, which would anticipate the obedient work of Jesus as the Son of God.³⁶ The reference to the Son in the baptism (Mk 1:9-11) implies his obedience to the will of God: "You are my beloved son, with you I am well pleased." This pericope shows that Jesus is primarily viewed as the Son of God and that his role involves obedience to his Father. In Mark 3:11 and 5:7 the Son of (the Most High) God (cf. Mk 1:24, 34), which the demons call to Jesus, indicates that he came to do the work of God by casting out the demons. However, Jesus does not want his divine sonship to be publicly announced and consequently commands the demons to be silent. Jesus also commands those who were healed to be silent (Mk 1:43-44; 5:43, cf. 7:24). It is because the Markan Jesus does not want to be proclaimed as the Son of God until it is clear that his sonship actually involves the passion and death. In Mark 9:7 the divine voice, which is similar to 1:11, is repeated before three disciples. The implication of the Son's duty in this passage is clear: he should suffer and die, considering that the disciples understand what it means after the resurrection (Mk 9:9-13). In the parable of the wicked tenants God finally sends his Son, who is killed and cast out of the vineyard (12:1-11). The image of the son in this parable is the obedient son who was sent in order to fulfill his duty. In Gethsemane Jesus' prayer (14:36) undoubtedly describes his total obedience to the will of the Father. In Mark 15:39 the centurion's confession suggests that Jesus is the Son of God who suffers and dies in obedience to God (cf. Mk 14:36).

(2) The description of Jesus as the Son of God occurs nine times in the Gospel of Matthew (Mt 4:3, 6; 8:29; 14:33; 16:16; 26:63; 27:40, 43, 54). This number, as in Mark, is increased if we include "my Son" in the baptismal narrative (Mt 3:17) and the transfiguration account (Mt 17:5). Here the Son of God primarily seeks to obey the will of his Father. That is to say the Son obeys the Father even until death. As in Mark the heavenly voice expresses divine approval. But Matthew goes beyond Mark in stressing the obedience of Jesus: Jesus submits to the Father in order to fulfil all righteousness (Mt 3:17). Immediately after baptism Jesus is tempted three times to use his authority as

³⁵ Rudolf Schnachenberg, *Jesus in the Gospels: A Biblical Christology* (Louisville: Westminster John Knox Press, 1995), 45.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 52.

the Son of God (Mt 4:3-5), but he overcomes the devil's temptation and keeps the word of God. Jesus' struggle with following the will of God emphasises his obedience. In Matthew 8:29, Jesus as the Son of God executes his authority to cast out the demons, which is the work of God. Peter's confession of Jesus as the Son of God (Mt 16:16), which is associated with building the church and the keys of the kingdom, implies the obedient death as its completion of association. However, Peter assumes the role of Satan, in that he would turn Jesus aside from obedience to the Father's will (Mt 16:22-23). In Gethsemane Jesus wants to avoid the "cup" of suffering, but as the Son of God he yields to the will of his Father (Mt 26:39). In fact Jesus is condemned to death on the charge that he claimed to be the Son of God (Mt 26:63). Two men tempt Jesus to demonstrate his divine sonship by the sign of coming down from the cross (Mt 27:40-43), but Jesus refuses to yield to their appeal and dies as the righteous one who places his trust in God (Mt 27:43). The centurion's declaration (Mt 27:54) vindicates Jesus as the obedient Son of God, because he took the cross and finally died. Since Jesus remained the obedient Son until the end his Father has given him "all authority in heaven and on earth" (Mt 28:18).

(3) Luke suggests that Jesus, conceived by the Spirit, is "the Son of God" (Lk 1:35). The Son of God is a theme that stands at the centre of the presentation of divine sonship throughout the Gospel.³⁷ Indeed, Jesus' final words to God as "Father" on the cross indicate that even at this point his intimate fellowship with God continues in terms of an obedient Son. Like Mark and Matthew, the Son of God in the baptismal narrative (Lk 3:22; cf. Mt 3:13-17; Mk 1:9-11) and the transfiguration account (Lk 9:35; Mt 17:5; Mk 9:7) shows the total obedience of Jesus to God's will. Like Matthew, the temptation narrative (Lk 4:1-3; 4:9; cf. Mt 4:3-6) demonstrates that being the Son of God involves perfect obedience to the will of the Father, avoiding the temptation of the devil. The Son of God involves the exorcism of demons (Lk 8:23, 29), which is the work of God. The self-testimony of Jesus as the Son of God leads to the charge that eventually he is going to die on the cross (Lk 22:70; cf. 26:63).

(4) The Son of God in John signifies the Son's possession of the Father's nature (Jn 1:34, 49; 5:25; 10:36; 11:4, 27; 19:7), which implies the obedient nature of the

³⁷ Joel B. Green, et. al., *Dictionary of Jesus and the Gospels* (Leicester: IVP, 1992), 774.

Son.³⁸ (i) Baptism in the Spirit (Jn 1:34) is associated with the imparting of God's Spirit upon the Son. Jesus, in receiving the Father's Spirit, is empowered to do his Father's work (Lk 4:18; cf. Isa 11:2; 61:1). (ii) Jesus' display of special knowledge of Nathanael's private prayer is similar to God's nature which had been given to Elisha who had supernatural knowledge of a private plan for a military attack upon Israel (2 Kgs 6:8-12). (iii) The voice of the Son of God that calls forth the dead (Jn 5:25) corresponds to the voice of God (cf. Isa 55:3) who mediates the life-giving Spirit (cf. Isa 3:3; 5:7; 7:37-39) to make dry bones come alive (Ezk 37). The Son can resurrect life because, like the Father, he has life in himself (Cf. Jn 1:4; 5:26; 11:27; 20:31).³⁹ (iv) The glory that primarily belongs to the Father is also ascribed to the possession of the Son of God. It is the Father's purpose that all should honour the Son, as they honour the Father (11:4). As the Father is to be honoured by his sons, so the Son wants to be honoured by his disciples. (v) The Son of God is used to describe Jesus as the worker of the Father (Jn 10:36-37). The coming of the Son is obviously to do the business of the Father. The right knowledge of the Son suggests that he has the same nature as the Father. This nature which the Son of God possesses naturally leads him to do what the Father wants.

4.3. Δόξα and the Son of Man in the Synoptics

The Son of Man (ὁ υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου) needs to be investigated as to whether it expresses Jesus' filial relationship to the Father, because δόξα accompanies the Son of Man two times in Mark and three times in Matthew (Mk 8:38; 13:26; Mt 16:27; 19:28; 25:31) and once in Luke (9:26). A simple answer is sufficient. (i) The phrases "the glory of his Father" (τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ) (Mk 8:38; Mt 16:27) and "the glory of the Father" (τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς) (Lk 9:26) link the Son of Man with the identification of Jesus as the Son of God. (ii) Jesus here in the Synoptics as well as in John is obviously the Son of God, and the same Jesus is undoubtedly regarded as the Son of Man. (iii) New Testament scholarship widely accepts that the Son of Man is the

³⁸ D. A. Carson, 161.

³⁹ Ibid., 256.

Son of God.⁴⁰ If so, does the Son of Man in the δόξα passages refer to the honour of the Father?

(1) All these related passages in Mark and Matthew present the image of the Son of Man as the one who will execute God's judgment over humanity in the parousia. The expression "the glory of his Father" (τῇ δόξῃ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ) (Mk 8:38; Mt 16:27) indicates Jesus' coming as the honour of the Father. The phrase "in clouds with great power and glory" (Mk 13:26) signifies the presence of God.⁴¹ However, the phrase "your glory" (τῇ δόξῃ σου) (Mk 10:37) seems to imply that the Son of Man comes in his glory. This glory is what the disciples view, which is different from Jesus' explanation of it. The former may indicate the chief position of honour with Jesus, while the latter points out suffering and death. Two metaphors (cup and baptism) are immediately used to explain such participation (Mk 10:38-40; cf. 10:41-45). In this sense, "his glory" (τῇ δόξῃ αὐτοῦ) (Mt 25:31) and "a throne of his glory" (θρόνου δόξης αὐτοῦ) (Mt 19:28; 25:31), which are the same thing, signify the glory of his parousia, which is followed by his death and his subsequent resurrection. Jesus' glory in the four Gospels is derived from his obedient death.⁴²

(2) The word δόξα in Luke is used for the honour of God, and this honour is revealed in the two comings of Jesus: his birth (Lk 2:9, 13-14, 32) and his parousia (Lk 9:26; 21:27). In his first coming, "the glory of the Lord" (δόξα Κυρίου) (Lk 2:9), which is the presence of God (cf. Isa 40:5; 60:1-2; Ezk 8:4; 9:3; 10:19), appears in the announcement of the angel of the Lord. Hereafter the angels praise the honour of God for the coming of Jesus, singing "glory to God in heaven" (δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις θεῷ) (Lk 2:13-14; cf. 19:38), and Simeon also praises God because he sees Jesus as the glory of God (Lk 2:28) and his coming as God's glory for his people (δόξαν λαοῦ σου) (Lk 2:32). In the second coming of Jesus "the glory of the Father" (Lk 9:26) emerges and the glory of the Father will be manifest in Jesus' parousia as in his death and resurrection.

⁴⁰ Cf. Delbert Burkett, *The Son of the Man in the Gospel of John* (Sheffield: JSNT Supplement Series 56, 1991); Seyoon Kim, *The Son of Man as the Son of God* (WUNT, 30: Tübingen: Mohr, 1983); George R. Beasley-Murray, *Word Biblical Commentary: John* (Waco; Texas: Word Books, 1987), 77; George R. Beasley-Murray, *John* (Dallas: Word Publishing, 1989), 35-40.

⁴¹ Alan Hugh M'Neile, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew: The Greek Text with Introduction, Notes and Indices* (London: MacMillan and Co., 1952), 298.

⁴² Gerhard Kittel, "δόξα, δοξάζω", *TDNT* vol. 2, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1964), 49.

Furthermore, for Luke the glory of Jesus is not only in the birth and the parousia but could also be assumed during his ministry on earth. Luke adds glory in transfiguration account (Lk 9:28-36). It is the glory of Yahweh which was there in the presence of Jesus with Moses and Elijah. In fact, Jesus is seen “in his glory” (Lk 9:32), which is related to anticipation of the passion in the present ministry. The δόξα of Jesus, which appeared in his birth, ministry and parousia, signifies his filial honour of the Father. Particularly in the parousia, the honour of the Father is highly recognised, and at the same time the Son of Man is glorified in the parousia, because he goes through the passion.

4.4. Δόξα and Δοξάζω in John: Father-centred Honour

The placing together of “Father” and “Son” is the most frequent combination in the Gospel of John. The relationship between the Father (one hundred and seven times) and the Son (thirty-one) is the dominant category.⁴³ In this relationship δόξα and δοξάζω, which are equivalent to כבוד,⁴⁴ are used no less than thirty-eight times. Do these words refer to the honour of the Father or Jesus?

The examination of the noun δόξα used in this book suggests that all occasions of it describe the honour of the Father. (i) “His honour” (δόξαν αὐτοῦ) which John and Jesus’ disciples saw in chapter 1:14 is used to express the honour of the Lord (Ex 15:34),⁴⁵ and the following expression δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός explains that the Son’s honour is his Father’s. The honour of God and the honour of the Son appear together (τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ πατρός) and thus it seems that these are distinct, but the former is the first appearance and the origin, and the latter stems from the origin. That is to say that as the Son is begotten by the Father, so the honour of the Son originates in the Father. On another occasion “his honour” (δόξαν αὐτοῦ), which the disciples saw in Cana (Jn 2:11) and which made them put their faith in him, can be the same meaning of δόξαν αὐτοῦ in 1:14.⁴⁶ The glory of God that Isaiah

⁴³ Cf. H. E. W. Turner, *Jesus, Master and the Lord* (London: A. R. Howbray & Co., 1954), 221; Vincent Taylor, *The Person of Christ in New Testament Teaching* (London: MacMillan, 1958), 147, 150.

⁴⁴ D. A. Carson, 128; Gerhard Kittel, “δόξα, δοξάζω”, *TDNT* vol. 2, 238, 243.

⁴⁵ J. N. Sanders, *A Commentary on the Gospel According to St John* (London: Adam & Charles Black, 1968), 81.

⁴⁶ D. A. Carson, 175.

saw in his vision (Jn 12:41; Isa 6:1-4) is identified with the glory of the Son, but it refers to God's glory. Jesus is namely God's glory or honour.⁴⁷ (ii) "My glory" (τὴν δόξαν τὴν ἐμὴν) in the sayings of Jesus is described as being given by the Father (17:24; cf. 17:22). But he wants his glory which he had before the creation of the world to be shown before the disciples by the Father (11:4). (iii) The ministry of Jesus on Earth is described as the honour of God or the one who sent him: his teaching (7:18), work (7:18) and the raising of the dead Lazarus (11:4, 40). Here Jesus' use of it clearly refers to the Father's honour. In conclusion, in the Gospel of John there are three ways of looking at δόξα: (a) Jesus' disciples perceive it as his; (b) Jesus himself conceives it as God's or the Father's; and (c) The Father's honour is seen in Jesus' glorification. The sharp differences demonstrate that the Father's honour is original and purposeful.⁴⁸

The investigation of the verb δοξάζω shows that it is almost always used to describe the honour of the Father. Most cases are related to Jesus' honouring the Father, except for two which are associated with the disciples' honouring the Father (Jn 15:8; 21:19). The following expressions show it as such: "I honour my Father" (8:49); "Father, honour your name" (12:28); "I [the Father] have honoured it" and "I [the Father] will honour it" (12:28); "God has been honoured in him" (13:31); "I will do whatever you ask in my name, so that the Father may be honoured in the Son" (14:13); "the Son may honour you" (17:1) and "I honoured you on earth" (17:4). The purpose of Jesus' work is expressed in his teaching at the Feast: he is working for the honour of the one who sent him (7:18). In addition, the verb δοξάζω related to Jesus' death and exaltation is used for the honour of the Father. The indication that δοξάζω is linked with the death emerges: "For as yet there was no Spirit, because Jesus was not yet glorified" (Jn 7:39). Further, a clearer indication follows: "After he was raised from the dead" and "After Jesus was glorified" are identical in their meanings (Jn 12:16). The statement "I have honoured it" (12:28) means the ministry of Jesus in his death on the cross, and the statement "I will honour it" (12:28) is related to the resurrection of Jesus and its continual consequences.⁴⁹ Particularly in John 13:31-32, in which it occurs five times,

⁴⁷ Ibid., 450.

⁴⁸ Cf. Arthur W. Wainwright, *The Trinity in the New Testament* (London: SPCK, 1962), 188.

⁴⁹ George R. Beasley-Murray, 212.

the verb δοξάζω is used as a metaphor for the Son's honouring of the Father by his obedience unto death. Here δοξάζω related to Jesus signifies his imminent death and possible subsequent resurrection, while δοξάζω related to God indicates his honour offered by his Son. In other words, the Son honours the Father by his obedience to death and therefore the Father will honour the Son by raising him from the dead and exalting him.

4.5. John's Gospel: Jesus' Witness of Father-centred Honour

Based upon the suggestion that the words δόξα and δοξάζω are used for the honour of God, we will examine how the honour of God or the Father is described in each unit or pericope or beyond it. (1) The prologue (Jn 1:1-18) describes how the Son of God was sent into the world so that the honour of the Father might be manifested.⁵⁰ The Logos of John 1:1 cannot be understood until 1:14, when it is identified as one from the Father, but it is fully identified as the Son of God in 1:34. In fact the rest of the book is an expansion of this theme.⁵¹ Thus the Gospel of John can be called "the book of glory (δόξα)".⁵²

(2) The first sign of Jesus' ministry (Jn 2:1-11) ends with the honour of God. It is significant that the very beginning of Jesus' public ministry resulted in the honour of God. This shows the characteristic of Jesus' ministry and anticipates the continuity of that characteristic. Jesus' ministry extends from 2:1 to 12:50, which is called "the book of signs".⁵³ The first sign of the honour of God could be assumed as continuing to the seventh sign. The honour of God revealed in the first and last signs can be recognised as an overarching theme in a scheme of seven signs to show its purpose: the changing of water into wine (2:1-11), the healing of the noble's son (4:46-54), the healing of the lame man (5:1-18), feeding the multitude (6:1-15), walking on the water (6:16-21), healing the man born blind (9:1-42) and the raising of Lazarus (11:1-57).

(3) The Feast of Tabernacles (Jn 7:14-44) was a feast of thanksgiving primarily for the blessings of God in the harvest, and it was also observed with special reference

⁵⁰ D. A. Carson, 111.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² Ibid., 166.

⁵³ Ibid.

to the blessings received during the wilderness wanderings. It was the time when God was pleased to manifest his glory in the tabernacle. It is significant that in this context Jesus' ministry is described as being for the honour of God. The Feast of Tabernacles also has its well-known water pouring rite, which anticipates the bestowal of the Spirit. The coming of the Spirit depends upon Jesus' departure, that is, glorification, which is a theme developed in John 14-16.⁵⁴ Jesus' main message in the first phase and the last phase at the feast connotes the honour of God (Jn 7:18, 39).

(4) Chapter 8:48-59 deals mainly with Jesus' honour of the Father. Against the accusation of being demon possessed and a Samaritan, Jesus states that he honours (τίμαω) the Father. Jesus' words and deeds are always and only what the Father wants him to do. By refusing to respond positively to Jesus' words and deeds, his hearers dishonour him and therefore the one who sent him (Jn 5:23). The contrast emphasises a theme of the honour of the Father. Here Jesus refutes any self-glory independent of the glory of God. At the same time, however, Jesus insists that the Father is the one who glorifies him (cf. 5:23; 8:50; 17:1, 4-5). The nature of that glorification is not a public display but the cross and consequent return to the glory that the Son enjoyed with the Father before the world began (17:5).

(5) Chapter 11:1-43 deals mainly with the death and the resurrection of Lazarus, where the honour of God is used in the beginning and the end of the pericope. The death and the raising of Lazarus provide an opportunity for God to reveal his honour and to glorify his Son. The death and the resurrection of Lazarus correspond to those of Jesus in terms of honouring the Father.

(6) The entry to Jerusalem (Jn 12:12-46) is described as the glory of Jesus. The fact that the words δόξα and δοξάζω are used six times in this unit suggests both the imminent passion of Jesus and at the same time the emphasis of the honour of the Father by Jesus' obedient death. In this climactic moment Jesus' determination to honour the Father is strongly expressed. Jesus' death and resurrection are synonyms of Jesus' δόξα and δοξάζω in this book. John goes beyond the Synoptics when he uses δόξα in expressing the pre-existence of Jesus.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 321.

(7) The farewell discourses (Jn 13:31-16:33) begin with the glorification of Jesus and the honour of God. Mention of $\delta\omicron\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ five times in two verses (13:31-32) implies the impending nature of Jesus' glorification and subsequently the honour of the Father, which embarks on one of the dominant themes of the discourses.⁵⁵ Even though he departs, the answer of his followers' prayer for provisions and protection will be found in Jesus' name. The Son's purpose, even as he answers their prayers, is to honour the Father (14:13). During his ministry on earth the Son's consistent aim and achievement was to honour the Father (5:41; 7:18; 8:50, 54).

(8) The prayer of Jesus (Jn 17:1-26), which is connected with the "farewell discourses", is a summary of this whole book. A central theme includes Jesus' obedience to his Father, the honour of his Father through his death and resurrection, and then the glorification of Jesus restored in the Father.⁵⁶ That Jesus should pray that the Father might glorify the Son is an expression of his willingness to obey the Father even unto death. From Jesus' perspective his glorification is nothing but has the purpose of honouring his Father.

In conclusion, John regards Jesus' filial piety as a central theme of the book. Thus this relationship is the absolutely dominant concept. Every chapter, except for three chapters (nine, nineteen and twenty-one), deals with the theme of the Father, which reflects the honour or obedience of the Son towards the Father. The meaning of the Son of God, which has been regarded among Johannine scholarship as the most important concept of the book, is the obedient Son. Also the meaning of the Son of Man is the obedient Son. In this relationship $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ and $\delta\omicron\varsigma\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$ are no less important. The concept of honour is a decisive definition to explain Jesus' relationship with the Father, that is, the role of the Son of God towards his Father. As far as Jesus himself is concerned, to honour the Father is all about his life. Jesus' birth, ministry, message, suffering, death, resurrection and exaltation are closely connected with this concept. To honour the Father is all about his teaching to his disciples. The major challenges of Jesus towards his disciples can be all summed up as honouring the Father.

⁵⁵ Ibid., 483.

⁵⁶ Ibid., 550-551.

5. The Realised Filial Piety of the Disciples towards the Father

The sons of God are to honour their Father. The verbs τιμάω and δοξάζω indicate not only the established sonship but also the filial duty of the honour of the Father. The verb τιμάω is used to describe the honour of the Father that his people should do (Mt 15:8; Mk 7:6), as it is employed for the human father's honour as his son's duty (Mt 15:4; 19:19; Mk 7:10, 10:19; Lk 18:20; cf. Eph 6:2). The verb δοξάζω, which is not used at all for the honour of a human father, is used only for the honour of God or the Father. It is conspicuous that the filial piety of the sons of God was realised. The ministry of Jesus is characterised as playing a key role in letting his disciples honour the Father, while he is also honouring the Father at the same time. His ministry (healing or teaching) or a direct challenge in his words are used for this purpose. What are the meanings of δοξάζω in the Four Gospels?

5.1. Δοξάζω in Matthew and Mark: Discipleship

The honour of God is associated with the discipleship of the crowd (ὄχλος). The large crowd honoured (δοξάζω) God by Jesus' ministry (Mt 5:16; 9:8; Mk 2:10-12; cf. Lk 5:17-28). They listened to Jesus' teaching, participating as the designated audience of two of the five sermons (Mt 5:1-2; 13:1-2). This crowd was astonished at his authoritative teaching (Mt 7:28; 22:33) and healing (Mt 12:33; 15:31; Mk 5:20; 9:15). They accepted Jesus as a prophet (Mt 21:11, 26, 46) and proclaimed him to be the son of David (Mt 12:23; 21:9). They followed Jesus, usually expressed with the verb "to follow" (ἀκολουθέω), signifying discipleship (Mt 4:20, 22, 25; 8:1, 22-23; 9:9; 14:13; 19:27-28; Mk 1:17; 2:14, 15; 8:34). "The theme of discipleship is central to Matthew's gospel and to Matthew's understanding of the church and mission."⁵⁷ "To follow Jesus" and "to make disciples" (Mt 13:52; 27:57; 28:19; cf. Acts 14:21) are a continual process. To make disciples (μαθητεύω) is the imperative verb and the principal verb in the Great Commission (Mt 28:19; Mk 16:15-17).

⁵⁷ David J. Bosch, *Transforming Mission: Paradigm Shifts in Theology of Mission* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1993), 73.

5.2. Δοξάζω in Luke: Personal Evangelism

Jesus' disciples or believers honoured God because of Jesus' birth, earthly ministry and death. The verb δοξάζω is used in seven occasions with θεόν as its object in this book (Lk 2:20; 5:25; 7:16; 13:13; 17:15; 18:43; 23:47).⁵⁸ The motif of honour ends with its own pericope.⁵⁹ These seven cases are all associated with Jesus bringing each of them to honour God, except for one case in which the angelic announcement leads the shepherds to honour God. The baby Jesus cannot do any thing for them to do so, but someone else does. But the baby Jesus or the birth of Jesus caused them to honour God. These cases of personal honour imply the individual honour of God. These individuals who were involved with Jesus' ministry always honour God, not Jesus. There is no indication that Jesus is an object of their honour, although there is one occasion that δοξάζεσθαι (to be honoured) is used to describe the crowd's response to the characteristics of Jesus' ministry (Lk 4:15). Those who honour Jesus are those who recognise the actions of God in Jesus.

(1) The shepherds honoured God for the birth of Jesus (Lk 2:1-20). In Luke 2:9 δόξα means the bright appearance of glorious light, which is an indication of the presence of God. The word δόξα would be a recognition that glory belongs to God, so that it forms an ascription of praise to him.⁶⁰ In response to this glory which is associated with the birth of Jesus, the angels honoured God in the heavens and the shepherds also honoured God on the earth. The correspondence of what the shepherds heard from the angels with what they saw led them to honour Him. They, after looking at the glory of God, should become eye witnesses.

(2) A paralytic honoured God for his cure (Lk 5:17-26). The confirmation of Jesus' claim provides the paralytic's ability to respond to Jesus' healing word. The crowd, in response, honoured God for this miracle, saying that they saw wonderful things. The honouring of God by a paralytic is related to Jesus' authority to forgive sins, because the healing and forgiveness of sin are an interrelated issue here. The story closes with the fear and the honour of the crowds toward God in the face of the supernatural authority of Jesus, both to forgive and heal.

⁵⁸ I. Howard Marshall, 114.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ Ibid., 111-12.

(3) A widow's son who was raised from the dead would have honoured God, although the verb δοξάζω is absent. The crowd, filled with awe, honoured (δοξάζω) God for the emergence of a great prophet and the visitation of God among them (Lk 7:11-17). If the people honour God, how much more the raised man should do so also. This story of raising from the dead reminds one of that of Jairus' daughter (8:49-56). The girl's parents were amazed and would naturally have tended to talk about the wonderful thing that had happened, and the girl with her parents would have honoured God for the raising of their daughter, together with a mourning group and her relatives. However, Jesus charged them to tell no-one what had happened. This prohibition may explain the absence of praise or honour in this context.

(4) A stooped woman honoured God for her recovery of a normal upright posture (Lk 13:10-17). The healing ministry of Jesus on the Sabbath leads to controversy. A leader of the synagogue initiates a debate with Jesus before the crowd. But the crowd was delighted with the victory of Jesus in the debate and the healing of that woman. This can mean in this context that the crowd would have honoured God.

(5) A Samaritan leper returned and honoured God after acknowledging he had been cured (Lk 17:11-19). It is significant that initially he honoured God and then thanked Jesus. The grateful action of one leper out of ten stands in contrast to mark the ungrateful action of the rest. Jesus emphasised the gratitude due to God by asking three consecutive questions: "Were not ten made clean? But the other nine, where are they? Was none of them found to return and give praise to God except this foreigner?" (17:17-18)

(6) A blind man who was sitting by the roadside in Jericho and was healed follows Jesus, honouring God for the opening of his eyes. The crowd present there also offered honour to God for the healing of the blind (Lk 18:35-42). Matthew speaks of two blind men being healed as Jesus went out of Jericho (Mt 9:26). Mark has one blind man, who he names as Bartimaeus, healed as Jesus went out of this city (Mk 8:22-25). Luke does not name the man but he locates the miracle to Jesus' entry into the city. There is little doubt that all three occasions could refer to the same incident of honouring God.

(7) The centurion honoured God after seeing what happened there. He, who would have been in charge of the execution, could see everything that happened on that

day. His honour to God came from his confession that Jesus is the righteous man (or Son of God), which implies that his death accords with the will of God (Lk 23:26-49).⁶¹ The fact that such an official reacted by honouring God is a great emphasis of his personal witness in itself.

As noted above, concerning the honour of God in terms of individual evangelism, four out of seven cases deal with the healing of the sick. Likewise, similar occasions of the healing of the sick in this book (the healing of a demoniac, 4:33-37; the healing of Peter's mother-in-law, 4:38-39; the sick healed at evening, 4:4-41; healing of a man with a withered hand on the Sabbath, 6:6-11; healing of the centurion's servant, 7:1-10; the healing of the woman with a haemorrhage, 8:40-56; healing of a boy with an unclean spirit, 9:37-43; and the healing of a man with dropsy, 14:1-6), although there are no references to *δοξάζω*, could suggest that a healed person, would have honoured God in public.

Furthermore, other examples can be considered as such: a man healed from paralysis was praised for his faith and forgiven (Lk 5:25-26); a widow's son and a crippled woman would have joined the crowds who followed Jesus (Lk 14:25); a Samaritan thanked Jesus for his cure and he was acknowledged for his faith (Lk 17:15); a man healed from blindness was acknowledged for his faith and followed Jesus after being healed (Lk 18:42-43); and the centurion's confession that Jesus is a righteous man (or the Son of God) (Lk 23:47). Their attitude as a token of faith in Jesus or Jesus' acceptance of them could be assumed to indicate that they honoured God and activated personal witness.

5.3. *Δοξάζω* in Matthew: World Evangelism

The honour of the Father, which seems to parallel to good work, implies the evangelisation of the world.⁶² Jesus emphasises: "Let your light shine before others, so that they may see your good works and give glory (*δοξάζω*) to your Father in heaven" (Mt 5:16). The metaphors of "the salt of the world" and "the light of the world" in this

⁶¹ Leon Morris, *Luke* (Leicester: IVP, 1990), 360.

⁶² Robert H. Gundry, *Matthew: A Commentary on His Literary and Theological Art* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1982), 76.

unit 5:13-16 are identical to good works.⁶³ That is to say that not only Jesus' community is increased within Judaism, but also the mission for the Gentiles is presupposed. This good work is extended to the acts commanded in Matthew 5:17-7:12.⁶⁴ Moreover, in Matthew 18:14 the reference to the Father's will emerges in an eschatological context: "it is not the will of my Father who is in heaven" that any of the little ones should be lost. The metaphor of a shepherd who searches for a lost sheep out of one hundred corresponds to the ministry of Jesus who takes care of the poor, the sick and the sinners who are despised. The search for the lost or little ones is the indication of the will of the Father who wants all of them to be his children. The Great Commission challenges the disciples to evangelise the world (Mt 28:20).

5.4. Δοξάζω in John: the Disciple's Death

In the Gospel of John the word δοξάζω, which occurs once in its relation to the disciple, implies the disciples' death. Peter's death is described as honouring God (Jn 21:19). Since Peter is regarded as representative of the disciples, the representative of his death as honouring God can include other disciples. Jesus first died and was raised, and then also asked Peter to be ready to die. This is connected with the declaration of Jesus: "The honour (δόξα) which you have given me I have given them" (Jn 17:22). Any disciples who follow Jesus would suffer or face death. The Father is honoured in the disciples who lay down their lives, as in Jesus' death. There are many occasions in which the disciples honoured God by their death (Acts 7:54-60; 12:1-2).

Conclusion

Imitatio Christi was fulfilled. First, the disciples understood Jesus as an example of an obedient son who showed his honour towards his human parents and one who reinforced the importance of the fifth commandment and his filial responsibility of his human parents. Moreover, while he was faithful to his human parents, he was also faithful to the Father. Jesus, both in his life ministry and death, brought honour to his human parent and his Father in heaven. This way of life that Jesus exemplified is

⁶³ Daniel Patte, *The Gospel According to Matthew: A Structural Commentary on Matthew's Faith* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 69.

⁶⁴ W. D. Davies and Dale C. Allison, Jr., 479.

important to the Synoptics and John. Jesus' filial respect towards his human parents and filial piety towards his heavenly Father go together. The former led to the latter with the result that the latter is emphasised.

Secondly, the disciples understood the meaning of the Son of God in the Four Gospels, which has particularly been regarded among Johannine scholarship as the most important concept of the book, is chiefly the obedient Son. Also the meaning of the Son of Man in the Synoptics is mainly the obedient Son. The concept of honour in John decisively defines and explains Jesus' relationship with the Father, that is, the role of the Son of God towards his Father. Moreover, it can be assumed that the Son of God in John 21:31, which has been regarded as the purpose of the book, highlights the role model of filial piety towards the Father.

Thirdly, the disciples honoured the Father through their faithfulness to the life and ministry of Jesus. Matthew expressed the honour of God in terms of individual evangelism. Healed persons honoured God among the people, as well as a raised man and witnesses of Jesus who saw his birth and death. Matthew and Mark interpreted the honour of God as a discipleship. Particularly, Matthew focuses on the followers or disciples of Jesus in relation to world evangelism. John defined the honour of God as the disciples' death. As the glory of Jesus means his passion, death and resurrection, the disciples experience passion, death and resurrection.

CHAPTER SIX: The Fulfilment of Filial Piety (IV): Shaping a Theology of Filial Piety

Introduction

On the basis of our discussions in preceding chapters a theology of filial piety will be shaped. Although we have demonstrated the fulfilment of filial piety through chapters three, four and five, we need a further discussion for the shape of this theology as an authentic and a new theology. For this purpose, we will *first* seek a better model. This model will be criteria for the shape of a new theology. *Secondly*, a theology of filial piety will be formed in terms of a family concept. Our examination of the biblical texts will be limited to those passages containing Father, the Son, the sons or the words relevant to the family concept in the Four Gospels.

1. Seeking a Better Model

Asian theologians have quite recently realised that they had to take into account the particularity of their countries' culture, having been aware of the failure of western theology to deal with Asian cultural issues. This realisation created a starting point for developing contextual or local theologies in Asia. The emergence and rapid development of Asian theologies took place over the last couple of decades.¹ Examples include Minjung theology in Korea, Third-eye theology in Taiwan, Dalit theology in India, Pancha sila theology in Indonesia, People's Power theology in the Philippines and so on. Not only theologians but also Christians in Asia became convinced that Western traditional ways do not make sense within their cultural patterns and thought forms.²

Having become aware of this phenomenon in Asia and elsewhere in the Third World, two theologians, Robert J. Schreiter and Stephen B. Bevans, have attempted careful investigations of contextual theologies. Both of them in their books offered a guide for the further exploration of local or contextual theologies for both the West and the Third World. At the same time they challenged western theologians to prove

¹ Robert J. Schreiter, *Constructing Local Theologies* (London: SCM, 1985), 1-2.

² Stephen B. Bevans, *Models of Contextual Theology* (Maryknoll: Orbis Books, 1992), 5.

whether western theologies were able to resonate with contemporary experience or respond to the growing sense of identity of diverse groups in their society.³

Robert J. Schreiter presented three models: (i) the translation model, (ii) the adaptation model and (iii) the contextual model. In the presentation of these models, he asserted that the translation model and the adaptation model pave the way for the contextual model, and the contextual model can be the most appropriate approach for a local theology.⁴ According to him, the translation model keeps biblical faithfulness and assumes the existence of a direct equivalence of the cultural pattern, it tends to remain a foreign voice within the culture. In other words, the continuing efforts to remain faithful to biblical teaching take precedence while the sensitivity of culture is overlooked. Thus it needs more fundamental and dynamic encounter between the Gospel and culture. The realisation of the weakness of this model leads to a second stage, which is called the adaptation model.⁵

However, the adaptation model, for Schreiter, stresses the local culture more than the "translation model". Therefore, the adaptation model is better suited to appropriating what is important to the local culture. In this model there are three kinds of approaches: the first approach undertakes to utilise the philosophical or the anthropological concepts used in western theologies in order to establish a basis for placing the local culture within a western theological framework. This facilitates dialogue between local theology and western theology. However, it still lacks cultural identity or relevancy, because it borrows western methodologies. The second approach attempts to impose cultural factors into foreign categories (e.g., someone's theology or dogma, like Calvinism or Barthianism), using a heterogeneous method of western (e.g., the conjunctive modes, both/and; the disjunctive modes, either/or). This causes an undesirable relativism on the part of local Christians in the Third World, particularly in Asia. The third approach seeks to be faithful to both local culture and apostolic faith. Here, local culture means local places where certain patterns of western Christianity are already lodged, and apostolic faith indicates Christian traditions involved in cultural elements. Therefore, Schreiter asserts that this approach can hardly be used, because

³ Robert J. Schreiter, 93-94; Stephen B. Bevans, 1, 2, 5, 10.

⁴ Robert J. Schreiter, 16.

⁵ Cf. *Ibid.*, 6-9.

there are few places where there have never been any contact with Christians and globalisation does not allow local culture to remain intact or isolated. According to him this model is a process on the way to the next model.⁶

Schreiter's contextual model concentrates more on the cultural content in which Christianity takes root and receives expression. A distinction between the adaptation model and the contextual model is that the former emphasises somewhat more the biblical revelation and the latter begins with cultural context. This model has two approaches: (i) the ethnographic approach is concerned with cultural identity and continuity for developing a theology, but in doing so it faces several problems. First, the development of a local theology is often set as a project but is not carried out beyond the initial stage. Secondly, this approach can often overlook conflict for the sake of maintaining harmony and peace, or it can play the role of a conservative force in society where change is needed. Thirdly, it can become a prey to a cultural romanticism which overlooks sin in general in its historical context. Fourthly, it is often seen as a product of intellectuals or experts, excluding to a great extent the communities who actually need to be involved in the process. (ii) The liberation approach concentrates on the socio-political or the socio-economic problems and the need for social change. It challenges the reality of certain people being reflected in the saving act of God in the Bible and gives hope for them to look at the future perspective, but it needs a safeguard not to fall into possible violence as the solution.⁷

According to Schreiter, as we have seen, the three models make up a process for a local theology. He does not draw a line of demarcation between the models but rather draws a whole picture of a historical development of theology with them. Roughly speaking, the translation model represents the theology of western Christendom, the adaptation model illustrates western paternalism of the later period in Third World's mission, and the contextual model indicates the self-realisation of the Third World in pursuit of its identification and theologisation in the middle of the twentieth century. In this sense each model contributes a unique theme to the symphony. The translation model results in acquiring the strength of biblical faithfulness and necessitating cultural

⁶ Cf. *Ibid.*, 9-12.

⁷ Cf. *Ibid.*, 6-16.

relevance, the adaptation model gives the past experience of being contextualised as a learning process to the maturity or as a lesson in self-awareness, and the contextual model identifies the reality of culture but necessitates biblical faithfulness. A very important issue must be noted from his models. It is that a local theology should have “two principles” (cultural relevance and biblical faithfulness) which should be counterparts as equally as possible.

Stephen B. Bevans also attempted to analyse all the contextual theologies and categorise them into a set of models: (i) the translation model, (ii) the anthropological model, (iii) the praxis model, (iv) the synthetic model and (v) the transcendental model. Bevans, as Schreiter before him, explains the strength and weakness of each model and suggests the models are a guide for the further exploration of contextual theologies. Bevans raises a question as to whether one model is better than another within today’s world of radical plurality and ambiguity, and he insists that each model responds to a specific situation. In his conclusion, calling for “a healthy plurality”,⁸ he answers the question: “It depends on the context.”⁹

Bevans’ models could help us to identify a particular situation and relieve the current confusion over approaches in theological outlook. But it is difficult to do justice to the complexities of each model in the limited space at his disposal. This is especially so with regard to the relationship between the contextual elements, and between the philosophical and the social aspects within each model. It is inconsistent for him to say that each model is valid for a specific situation on the one hand and that each situation in each model consists of its plurality and ambiguity on the other hand. Such categorisation involves oversimplification because the models are bound to overlap to some extent. For example, as he acknowledges, the translation model is the most commonly used one and is used in five models.¹⁰ The anthropological model and the praxis model share common cultural investigations to begin with, although they have somewhat different focuses to be dealt with later. The former deals with the cultural identity of the people, while the latter focuses on the reality of the people in culture.¹¹

⁸ Stephen B. Bevans, 111.

⁹ Ibid.

¹⁰ Ibid., 30.

¹¹ Ibid., 63.

The synthetic model and transcendental model have the same approach in looking at western theological references and culture. In actual practice many or most approaches do not limit themselves to a single model. In this regard Schreiter's models are not immune to this criticism, although he does not assert that such categorisation can respond to each situation exactly. Therefore it would be helpful to see what combinations work out.

Bevans' presupposition that contextual theology depends upon merely the context is questionable. If we recognise that contextual theologies are the products of the interaction between the gospel message and specific cultures, the task of theologising should not be at the mercy of the context. Biblical faithfulness should be the counterpart for making a theology, as we have noted from our discussion on the significance of Schreiter's models. Bevans' models do not contain a good balance of these two principles from the perspective of local culture. According to Bevans' models the anthropological model highlights more the cultural reality. The praxis model concentrates on the identity of the people as the subject of a culture with the aim of social change for oppressed people, while pointing out pertinent passages in the Bible just as a reference. The synthetic model is an attempt to emphasise both the biblical revelation and cultural aspects, but it borrows western cultures and theologies rather than using indigenous materials. This often loses the homogeneity of a local theology. The transcendental model recognises a person as one of faith and a particular context, but it faces the dilemma of a choice between philosophically motivated theologies and socio-politically motivated theologies. Thus, it is hardly a local theology of its own Christian identity.

Therefore, a better model is needed. One that avoids the one-sidedness of biblical faithfulness as in the translation model of Schreiter and Bevans; also, one that avoids stressing the cultural relevance as in the contextual model of Schreiter and in the anthropological model of Bevans; and moreover, one that avoids over using the western methodologies as in the adaptation model of Schreiter; lastly, one that avoids appropriating western sources of culture and theology as in the synthetic model and the transcendental model of Bevans. From the perspective of Asian theology, the adaptation model, the synthetic model and the transcendental model are to be excluded, while the translation model and the contextual or anthropological model can be considered. Since

the translation model aims at biblical faithfulness to a great extent, and the contextual model and the anthropological model struggles for maximum cultural relevance, it is desirable for us to employ, equally, two principles (cultural relevance and biblical faithfulness) for a better model.

2. Criteria for the Shape of a Local Theology

The two principles (cultural relevance and biblical faithfulness), equally applied, may provide a model for the shape of a new local theology. Each of these two principles has two components: cultural relevance consists of official culture and popular culture, and biblical faithfulness comprises formal correspondence and dynamic equivalence.

2.1. Cultural Relevance

One of the major tasks in creating a local theology is to investigate what popular culture is. Popular culture, which means the culture of all people in general, is a starting point for the development of a local theology,¹² and a local theology should be the theology of the people in a given context or cultural setting. Robert J. Schreiter highlights the importance of popular culture in this regard:

To develop local theologies, then, one must listen to popular religion [culture] in order to find out what is moving in people's lives. Only then can local theologies be developed and the liberating power of the gospel come to its full flower.¹³

The initiation and the development of a local theology are to be affected by the keen awareness of popular culture. When a local theology expresses a fuller understanding of what the people of that culture do, it can be either a gradual or a faster process. If official culture and popular culture are on a continuum or in co-operation, a local theology can have enough cultural relevance to work. It is because official culture are those prescribed norms of an institution promulgated and monitored by the government for the people and thus popular culture makes those patterns of behaviour more alive. As a result, it can become a cultural theology of the people and the evangelisation of that culture can be made in an effective way.

¹² Cf. Robert J. Schreiter, 124, 142.

¹³ Ibid., 143.

However, if a minority culture (e.g., an elite, a particular group, or the least civilised in the modern age) has no cooperation with popular culture, it cannot stand on the firm ground of its popularity. In this case that local theology cannot become the theology of the people. A theology which counters official culture cannot be popularised without popular support, a theology which opposes popular culture cannot be the theology of the people and a theology of a minority cannot be used for the people.

2.2. Biblical Faithfulness

The formal correspondence of Bible translation is a starting point for a theological formation.¹⁴ The principle of the formal correspondence aims to produce an almost exact meaning in translating a word into another language.¹⁵ In doing so the meaning of the translated words in English or a vernacular language must be identical or similar to that of the original Hebrew, Aramaic and Greek.¹⁶ However, in case of the impossibility of applying formal correspondence, dynamic equivalence can be applied.

The principle of dynamic equivalence seeks “to reproduce the meaning of the original text, rather than its individual words or its grammatical structures”¹⁷ and “to make it possible for the contemporary readers to understand what the original readers must have understood.”¹⁸ It should preserve the essential meanings and functions which the Bible intends to describe.¹⁹ In addition, it should make sure that the message in Hebrew or Greek transmitted into English or vernacular languages for the readers is equivalent to that intended by the original authors.²⁰

¹⁴ Lausanne Theology and Education Group, “The Willowbank Report”, John R. W. Stott and Robert Coote (eds.), *Down to Earth: Studies in Christianity and Culture* (London: Hodder and Stoughton), 330.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 329-30.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 219.

¹⁷ Paul Ellingworth, “Translating Parallel Passages in the Gospels”, *BT* 34:4 (1983), 401. For the detail of principle of equivalence, see Eugene A Nida, *Bible Translating: An Analysis of Principles and Procedures with Specific Reference to Aboriginal Languages* (New York: American Bible Society, 1947), 130-148.

¹⁸ Paul Ellingworth, 428.

¹⁹ Lausanne Theology and Education Group, 330.

²⁰ Charles H. Kraft, “The Church in Culture: A Dynamic Model”, John R. W. Stott and Robert Coote (ed.), 221.

3. Preparations for a Theology of Filial Piety

3.1. Cultural Relevance

Because cultural relevance is composed of two elements (official culture and popular culture), we will look at whether filial piety has the two elements at present. Present culture is very important because past culture is no longer valid for cultural relevance. In fact, in chapters one and two we have shown that filial piety was the official and popular culture.

3.1.1. Filial Piety as an Official Culture

Three main features in official culture concerning filial piety need to be introduced. (1) Government Education for Filial Piety.²¹ At the present time the Korean government continues to promote this education in terms of official textbooks. The textbooks of primary and secondary schools and even universities contain this concept as a part in the different genres of biography, poems, prose, and essays. Alongside the textbooks, many reference books are published and read in terms of biographies and cartoons. Not only do all state high schools teach filial piety but also many state high schools give the students "Filial Piety Holidays" (*Hyo-banghak*) of five days twice a year to practise it. This is designed for finding their roots, visiting old people, or serving their parents. The students are expected to give reports of what they have done during the holidays.²²

(2) The System of Filial Piety Awards.²³ Recently this system has been institutionalised by the government through the Ministry of Health and Social Welfare

²¹ The Choson government bolstered Confucian ideology as the main education, as we have already viewed. The national curriculum in the Choson dynasty (1392-1910) had consisted of the *Classics of Filial Piety*, the *Four Books* and the *Five Classics* as the main subjects for government officials and teaching faculty. Furthermore, King Sejong (r. 1418-1450) published two books (*Record of Filial Deeds* and *Deeds of Three Bonds Illustrated*) for educating filial piety to the common people. These two books had been public reading books for several centuries.

²² In-soo Son, *Hankookinui Hyodo Moonwha [Korean Culture of Filial Piety]* (Seoul: Mooneumsa, 1997), 617.

²³ This institution recognised by royal and official authority had been carried out for many centuries, that is, probably from the middle seventh to the late nineteenth century. We have noticed that there had been many filial deeds of loyalty and the subsequent rewards in *Samguk Sagi* (The History of the Three Kings), *Koryosa* (The History of Koryo) and *Sejong Sillok* (King Sejong's Documents). Queen Sondok (r. 632-647), King Kyungduk (r. 742-765) and Queen Chinsong (r. 888-897) rewarded those who had served their parent(s) with all their hearts and might. King Sonjong (r. 1083-94) rewarded to them, according to the reports of the dispatched officials who had been dispatched to the six provinces to teach

since 1973. Every May the Filial Piety Awards are offered to two or three hundred chosen from amongst many. Thirty percent of the prize winners receive the President's Award, Prime Minister's Award and the State Award; and seventy percent receive the Minister of Health and Social Welfare's Award.²⁴ As official institutions recognise it, so many private organisations confer prizes on many sons and daughters who are faithful to their parents.²⁵ An official institution to promote the virtue of filial piety exists only in Korea among other Asian countries and indeed the world.

(3) Senior Manifesto.²⁶ The Senior Manifesto has been recently declared by the government. The full text consists of two parts: the rationale and the practice for a senior manifesto. The first part states the place of a senior person in society and the country, his or her status in the present situation, the mandate of welfare and the responsibility for him or her. The second part illustrates five articles for practising it: (i) a senior citizen should be taken care of at home, supported by the community and the government; (ii) a senior person should live a pleasant life, provided with clothes, food and shelter; (iii) a senior person should enjoy physical and mental stability and health; (iv) a senior person should participate in a social activity according to his or her ability; (v) a senior person should have an opportunity to obtain necessary information for a hobby or recreation as well as a civilised life. This manifesto is probably the first one in the world in which respect of senior people is articulated at the level of government.²⁷

filial piety to the people and to look for and visit obedient sons and grandchildren. King Sejong (r. 1418-1450), who created an ideal Confucian society in a practical sense, promoted the concept and rewarded the related persons in a large scale. This typical sketch is quite enough to show this culture prevailing in each kingdom.

²⁴ Kyu-taek Sung, *Saesidaewi Hyo [The Filial Piety in New Age]* (Seoul: Yonsei University, 1995), 44-45.

²⁵ In-soo Son, 619-20.

²⁶ Respect of senior people in the Choson dynasty was naturally one of the most important policies of government. The old men of over eighty years old, regardless of class, were awarded by a better wage or a higher rank. In the days of King Sejong (r. 1418-50), the festivals were held for senior people of over fifty in the community council, for senior people of over sixty in the central government, for senior people of over seventy in the national college, and for senior people of over eighty in the royal court. King Sejong awarded the senior people of over eighty a government post and men of one hundred rice, meat and drink. It is significant to note that old age per se was enough qualified to be given a wage or a prize or a post. In the days of King Hyunjong (r. 1659-74), soldiers who had their parents of over eighty had exempted from compulsory military service for the service of their parents and the civil and military servicemen had special leave of two hundred days at the maximum when their parents got sick.

²⁷ In-soo Son, 572-576.

3.1.2. Filial Piety as the Popular Culture

(1) In family life, courtesy has been accorded the utmost importance. The grandparents or parents are the “superiors” of the family, to whom one has to pay absolute obedience and reverence. Parents have to be seated at the place of honour at all times and their children have to behave before them, and in their presence smoking, drinking or singing are not allowed, unless permission is given. As soon as children get up in the morning, they pay respect to the parents with the morning bow. At the table the parents have to pick up the spoon or chopsticks first before others can start eating. In going out and coming in, they greet their parents. A highly honorific expression has to be employed whenever speaking with parents.

(2) New Year's Day is the greatest of all days. Adults and children wear traditional costumes. All get up early in the morning and the women prepares the dishes for the new year. Children bow down before their parents, and parents respond by giving them some money or presents. Christians follow Korean tradition except for ancestor worship, and they sometimes conduct memorial services.

(3) The Harvest Festival (*chusok*), which is one of the three main feasts of the year,²⁸ is celebrated over the autumn harvest. Men and women, boys and girls, climb hills or go to the fields to spend the day (the fifth day of August in lunar calendar) in sports. Many people still visit the graves of their ancestors or loved ones.²⁹ The rush of homecoming from urban to rural areas for the purpose of respecting one's parents or performing ancestral rites or visiting the hometown is phenomenal. Usually more than thirty percent of the Korean population travels for this occasion.

(4) The Sixtieth Birthday Party (*hwae-gap*) for one's parents is a token of the appreciation of their children. At every birthday of their parents adult sons or daughters with their spouses and children come to celebrate or bless. Particularly at the sixtieth birthday, children put a special meaning on it, which means to bless the longevity of one's parents, and prepare a big party, inviting relatives and friends. The seventieth and eightieth birthdays are also recognised in the same way. Koreans usually celebrate the

²⁸ Tae Heung Hah, “Manner and Custom”, *Korea: Past and Present* (Seoul: Kwangmyong Publishing Co., 1972), 366.

²⁹ Sok-chae Yim, “Customs and Folklore”, Sung-nyong Lee (ed.), 208.

first and sixtieth birthdays as special occasions: the beginning of life and long life respectively.

(5) Respect for Senior People (*kyung-no-sa-sang*). Filial piety for one's parents naturally extends to other's old parents. Senior people are often treated as one's parents. Respect for senior people is a dominant aspect of culture in society. The evidence that special care is arranged for them is as follows. (i) Senior Halls (*kyung-no-hwe-kwan*) are built in every town throughout the country and run by provincial councils and private organisations or charity. (ii) Regular parties or festivals (*kyung-no-janchi*) are provided for them in senior halls or nursing homes. (iii) The "Filial Piety Tour" (*hyo-do-kwan-kwang*), which is a major package tour of many tourist agencies or companies which is very popular now. Almost every family where there are adult sons or daughters provides a domestic or overseas tour for their parents at least once.³⁰ (iv) A home helper is hired for the care of elderly persons in terms of washing, cleaning and feeding, when sons or daughters are absent on account of a professional or business trip or vacation.³¹ (v) A "Filial Piety Savings" account is a scheme in which several banks offer manifold benefits on this account: higher interest, exemption from savings tax and commission, free health checks and free tour. (vi) "Filial Piety Insurance" means that the company takes care of one's parents until death, in case of the customer's death. Life insurance benefit is also given for the deceased customer. This insurance includes hospitalisation, low-interest loan, tour fund and welfare-fund.³²

3.2. Biblical Faithfulness

3.2.1. Formal Correspondence. (1) Honour. In the expression "Honour your father and mother" the word כבוד (Ex 20:12; Deut 5:16) is translated into τιμάω (Mt 15:4; 19:19; Lk 18:20; Eph 6:2) and the translation indicates the same meaning as the former. This is certainly true, for the term is established within the fifth commandment. The words כבוד and τιμάω are translated into *gongkyung* (honour) as noun and *gongkyung hara* (honour) as an imperative in the Korean Bible. Their meanings are the same as the originals, and more so in the context of the fifth commandment. In the relationship

³⁰ In-soo Son, 595-96.

³¹ Ibid., 596.

³² Ibid., 594-95.

between Yahweh and Israel as a father-son relationship, the word כבוד is translated into *gongkyung* as noun and *gongkyung hada* (honour) as basic verb. In the relationship between the Father and the Son, the word τιμάω is translated into *gongkyung hada* (honour) and the word δόξα or δοξάζω is translated into *youngkwang* (glory) or *youngkwang slupke hada* (glorify). In the relationship between God and human beings as a father-son relationship, the word δοξάζω is translated into *gongkyung hada* (honour) or *youngkwang slupke hada* (glorify).

(2) Father and Son. Whether “father” and “son” are translated from Hebrew into Greek or are used in Hebrew or Greek, the meanings are the same. Furthermore, father and son, whether they are spoken or written in many different languages, including Korean, are the same thing. The father is described as a begetter (the mother is described as a giver of birth), the father and mother rear and bring up, discipline, love and have compassion on their children. They are the original languages and the common language of humanity. Particularly, “father” in Confucian society is similar to its meaning in the Old Testament. And the relationship between a father and a son in the Bible is similar to that in Confucianism: a father begets, takes care of, and disciplines his son, and a son should honour and obey his father. Likewise, the relationship between God the Father and his sons is similar to that in Confucianism.

3.2.2. Dynamic Equivalence. In light of this principle filial piety (or *hyo*) is the dynamic equivalent of the fifth commandment or filial responsibility. Filial piety (or *hyo*) in English or Korean has neither father and mother, nor honour or obey in it, but it implies that the object of filial piety is definitely towards parents, and the content of filial piety is honour and obedience. Therefore, we may carry on using those meanings synonymously in the relationship between God the Father and human beings and thus the word filial piety can be used for biblical and theological works.

4. The Orientation of the Matrices for a Theology of Filial Piety

A theology of filial piety is basically a study of the honour of the Father, and it centres on or is oriented towards the Father. Since Christian theology is a Trinitarian theology, we should also deal with Jesus and the Holy Spirit in relation to the Father in terms of a family concept. Since Christian theology also is an anthropological approach to God, we can identify human beings in terms of the sons of God or the devil.

4.1. God the Father

The fatherhood of God in the Old Testament was described as parallel to a human fatherhood in relation to his son. This fatherhood was involved with periods of an intimate care from birth to adolescence. Yahweh was described as a begetter (beget), as a caretaker (rear, bring up, carry, pity and love) and a disciplinarian (discipline). This characterisation in the exodus tradition, which is a most important theme in the Old Testament, had a perpetual impact upon Israel. In the Four Gospels, God is described as the Father in a similar pattern to that in the Old Testament. He is described as a life-giver (beget, give the bread of life and give resurrection life), as a caretaker (know their needs, feed, love, send another Paraclete) and a rewarder (reward, punish and prepare). This fatherhood is introduced by Jesus the Son who knows the Father very well. We will take a closer look.

(1) Life-giver. (i) The Father “begets” (γεννάω) his sons. “To be born from above” (γεννηθῆ ἄνωθεν) (Jn 3:3, 7), which is the same thing as “to become a child of God” (τέκνα θεοῦ γενέσται) (Jn 1:12),³³ can refer to the action of the Father.³⁴ These phrases are related to a new birth. The sonship of God in the Synoptics involves certain characteristics: peacemaking (Mt 5:9), love of enemies and prayer for persecutors (Mt 5:45). These characteristics mark out the sons of God. (ii) The Father “gives” (δίδωμι) them the bread of heaven (Jn 6:32, 37), which gives life to the people. It echoes the manna that God gave through Moses. Here the bread of heaven, the bread of God, refers to Jesus himself. (iii) The Father is the one who raises the dead and gives life (Jn 5:21). The raising of the dead and giving of life are privileged powers of the Father. In the Old Testament God is described as the one who gives life: opening of the womb (Gen

³³ D. A. Carson, 189.

³⁴ Ibid.

30:22), bringing back to life (2 Kgs 5:7), the rain (Dt 28:12) and the resurrection of the dead (Ezk 37:13).

(2) Caretaker. (i) The Father “knows” (γινώσκω) their need beforehand (Mt 6:8, 32; Lk 11:13). The Father’s foreknowledge of the sons’ needs makes them reliant upon him and only appropriate prayer is required. Therefore, true prayer is contrasted to the prayers and practices of both Jews and Gentiles. Their prayers are not acceptable and will remain unanswered. In the Lord’s prayer, a petition for daily bread for survival is listed. The prayer ensures a provision of their needs (cf. Mt 6:26-32; Lk 12:30). (ii) The Father “feeds” (βόσκω) them (Mt 6:26-32; cf. Lk 12:30). The verb “to feed” is not used here in Matthew, but the metaphor of the birds’ survival is employed as a parallel to signify its meaning. The point is that the Father provides them with necessary things to live and thus the sons are not to be worried. Their faith assures them that God will provide for them. Luke 12:30 uses the metaphors of the survival of birds and flowers to give them encouragement to believe in God, who considers them more valuable. As for the feeding, the Father in heaven is more generous than a human father (Mt 7:9-11; Lk 11:11-13). (iii) The Father “loves” (ἀγαπάω) them (Jn 14:23, 16:27). Jesus promises that the Father will love those who love and obey the Son. Just as the Son remains in his Father’s love by obeying him (Jn 8:29; 15:10), so the sons can remain in the Father’s love as long as they are obeying the Son (Jn 15:9-11). The Father loves the sons (Jn 5:20; 11:3; 21:15-17), because they love Jesus and believe that he came from God (Jn 16:27). In fact, the Father loves all human beings (Jn 3:16), but he has a special regard for those who believe in him through the Son.³⁵ (vii) The Father will “give” (δίδωμι) or “send” (πέμπω) them another Paraclete (Jn 14:16; 14:26; cf. Lk 11:13). The Father’s care for his sons continues. As the Father gave them the Son as the Paraclete, so the Father will give them another Paraclete in order to carry on his care for them.

(3) Rewarder. (i) The Father “rewards” (ἀποδίδωμι) them. Jesus warns in Matthew 6:1-18 that artificial piety done for the purpose of being seen by others will not bring a reward from the Father (Mt 6:1), and he mentions three times that “your Father who sees in secret will reward you” (Mt 6:4, 6, 18). (ii) In contrast, the Father will “punish” (παρέδω τοῖς Βασιλευσιν) the petitioner who failed to forgive others

³⁵A. J. Maclearn, “The Fatherhood of God”, James Hastings (ed.), *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* (Edinburgh: T & T Clark), 460.

(Mt 18:35; cf. 18:34). The Father is one who “cuts off” (αἵρω) every fruitless branch (Jn 15:2). He watches over the branches and takes away every fruitless branch to be thrown into a fire and burned. (iii) The Father “prepares” (ἐτοιμάζω) their places in the kingdom (Mt 20:23; Mk 10:39-40). A specific request for reward in terms of “being first” is made among the disciples for the future kingdom. In order to receive the reward of “thrones” the disciples must drink the “cup” which is a metaphor for suffering. The necessary connection between cup and throne is what Jesus has been teaching since Matthew 16:21-28. So it is natural for them to try to obtain it. But here Jesus leaves this issue to the decision of the Father and leads them to realise the priority of service.

4.2. Jesus the Eldest Brother

Jesus is the firstborn son and thus the eldest brother of all his brothers in God's large family: the “firstborn son” (Mt 1:25; Lk 2:27) is related to “the firstborn among many brothers” (Rom 8:29). Jesus' brotherly relationship with his disciples or followers is emphasised throughout the Four Gospels. Jesus' brothers include those who do the will of the Father (cf. Mk 3:31-35; Mt 12:46-50). Furthermore, “my brothers” (Jn 20:17) indicates that Jesus and his disciples are in a brotherly relationship, although the distinction between “my Father” (the Son) and “your Father” (the sons) is clearly made.³⁶ Here the Father and the Son have completed the work of atonement, and the sacrifice of the Son has been accepted by the Father. The family scope is widely open for others, so that new sons of God and new brothers of Jesus may be added to it.³⁷

³⁶ Careful examination of “Father” (πατήρ), which is used one hundred and sixty times to describe the fatherhood of God in the four Gospels, suggests that the word is distinctively employed in relation to *the Son* (Jesus) and in relation to *the sons* (disciples or believers). In the Gospel of Matthew, containing thirty-seven references to the Father, nineteen references are related to Jesus (“my heavenly Father”, “my Father”, “the Father” and “Father”) and eighteen references are associated with the sons (“your heavenly Father”, “your Father”, “our heavenly Father” and “their Father”). In the Gospel of Mark, with five references to the Father, three references are associated with Jesus (“his Father”, “the Father” and “Father”) and two references are related to the sons (“your Father”). In the Gospel of Luke including twelve references to the Father, ten references are related to Jesus (“Father”, “my Father” and “the Father”) and two references are related to the sons (“your Father” and “your heavenly Father”). In the Gospel of John, in which “Father” occurs one hundred and six times, except for one case referring to the Father of the sons (“your Father”), the rest refer to the Father of Jesus (“my Father”, “the Father”, “Father”). Overall, “Father” is used in relation to the Son and the sons differently. Particularly, the parallel between “my Father” and “your Father” (Jn 20:17) emphasises the distinction of both.

³⁷ Tom Smail, 142.

In the absence of a father, the eldest son assumes the fatherly authority in the family. Jesus was sent to the world from the Father. He deals with the family of God on Earth on behalf of the Father in heaven. He does the same thing to his brothers as his Father does as the life-giver, caretaker and rewarder. The following passages of "like father like son" indicate that the eldest brother exercises the Father's authority given to him (Mt 11:27; 28:18; cf. Jn 4:34; 5:26) and follows his role in relation to his brothers.

(1) Life-giver. (i) As the Father begets his sons, so he makes the people follow him and become the sons of God. The sonship in John requires belief in Jesus' name (Jn 1:12). (ii) As the Father gives the bread of heaven to his sons, so he himself as the bread of heaven gives eternal life (Jn 6:51). This implies a sacrificial and eucharistic reference (Jn 6:51-58). (iii) "As the Father raises the dead and gives them life, so he gives life" (Jn 5:21-23; cf. 6:39, 40, 44, 54). The raising of Lazarus from the dead (Jn 11:1-44) shows that Jesus has authority to give life to the dead. In John the Father gives life through the Son.

(2) Caretaker. (i) As the Father knows their need, so he knows his sheep (Jn 10:14-15). The shepherd knows what they need exactly and takes care of them. (ii) As the Father feeds his sons, so he feeds them (Jn 6:1-13). Jesus feeds the twelve and five thousand. The shepherd feeds the sheep. (iii) As the Father has loved his sons (Jn 14:23), so Jesus has loved his brothers (Jn 15:9). As the Father's love indicates perfection, so his love for his disciples is depicted as a complete thing. (iv) As the Father gives them one Paraclete, so he gives them another Paraclete in his name (Jn 14:16). As the Son cares for them exactly like the Father, so another Paraclete will do the same as Jesus did for them. The Father and the Son send him to them for their benefit.

(3) Rewarder. (i) As the Father rewards them, so he rewards them according to what they have done (Mt 16:27). In the end times, the Son will reward them fairly according to their response to their work of obedience or disobedience. (ii) As the Father prepares the kingdom, so he prepares many rooms in the Father's house (Jn 14:3). Jesus goes to the Father and arranges places in the kingdom for them.

4.3. The Holy Spirit

4.3.1. The Spirit of the Father

The Spirit of the Father (Jn 15:26) is identified with the Spirit of him who raised Jesus from death and will give life to the believers (Rom 8:11), and indicates that he gives the believers life (Rom 8:2). The source of life is the Father and his Spirit is working on as life-giver. The life-giving means that they will become sons of God (cf. Jn 3:3, 5, 7) and the Spirit affirms them as a witness (Rom 8:16). Furthermore, the Spirit carries on to lead them to live like the sons of God (Rom 8:14).

The Spirit of the Father is called to show the fatherhood of God to their children in need, that is, in the worst situation that family members betray one another even to death, for religious persecution (Mt 10:20-21). When a family feud owing to religious commitment caused a division between human family and heavenly family, if the disciples were to be betrayed by their human family members, the Spirit would comfort and protect them, and he would transfer them to the real family of the Father.

4.3.2. The Spirit of the Son

The Spirit of the Son brings us into a sonship that has its definition and normative explication in the person, life and work of the Son. "Because you are sons, God sent the Spirit of his Son into our hearts, the Spirit who calls out, 'Abba, Father'" (Gal 4:6). For sonship, the work of Christ and the work of the Holy Spirit have decisive roles to play. It is by the death and resurrection of Jesus that we are reconciled to the Father and made sons of God, and it is also by the Spirit who makes us sons and reveals and realises in us the sonship that has been prepared by the work of Christ. Furthermore, the Spirit of the Son continues what Jesus has done for his disciples. Jesus assures them that he has made pertinent provision for them in his absence. He will send the Holy Spirit as another Paraclete who will teach, guide, remind, witness and comfort them, as Jesus did (Jn 14:15-18, 25-26; 15:26; 16:7-15).

The Spirit of sonship is so called because it is those who are led by the Spirit of God who are sons of God (Gal 3:26). Jesus' disciples are all sons (and daughters) of God through the Spirit, and the Spirit leads all sons to address God as their Father, 'Αββά ὁ πατήρ ("Abba, Father"). Sons are supposed to call to their father. Here its meaning is worth noting. First, Jesus' use of Father (Mk 14:36) shows that Jesus gives his disciples the privilege of being in the heavenly family and of addressing God in this

familiar way.³⁸ In the Gospels Jesus constantly addresses God as his Father and urges them to speak to their heavenly Father with the same confidence as he has. However, his use of Abba Father connotes an expression of obedient surrender and suffering, seeking the will of God. Secondly, Paul's use of it indicates that there is no distinction between the Jews and the Greeks and that all believers in every nation may address God as their Father in their own languages in worship (Rom 8:16; Gal 4:6).³⁹ And they also should obey and suffer, seeking the will of God.

4.4. The Filial Community

4.4.1. The Honour of the Father

(1) Honouring Community. Israel as the sons of God was urged to honour (כָּבַד) him from the exodus to the post-exilic period. It was the time only from the exodus to the completion of the tabernacle in the wilderness that Israel honoured Yahweh with a single heart, except for one occasion of calf worship. From then until the time of Malachi they were often rebellious against Yahweh the Father. Thus Yahweh disciplined them to teach filial piety. Likewise Jesus' disciples are also required to honour God the Father, because they are his sons and daughters. Through the ministry of Jesus the people were urged to become his disciples, and then the disciples were encouraged to honour him: the crowd, individuals and the twelve, all together, followed and honoured God.

(2) Worshipping Community. The worship of the Father is a filial responsibility. The כָּבַד (honour) is what Israel should do towards Yahweh. (i) Proverbs 3:9 states, "Honour the Lord with your substance and with the first fruits of all your produce", which means that such abundant provision of good things is an essential part of worship for those who honour God, and also which is demanded in a cultic performance.⁴⁰ (ii) Isaiah 29:13 seems to say that the superficial worship of Yahweh, "honouring with lip service", that is, worship without a true heart, is not valid and its sacrifice cannot save

³⁸ Leon Morris, *Luke*, 316.

³⁹ Robert Haldane, *Exposition of Epistle to the Romans* (Edinburgh: The Banner of Truth, 1986), 358; F. F. Bruce, *Romans* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1990), 157.

⁴⁰ R. N. Whybray, *The Book of Proverbs* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1972), 25. See Ex 23:19, Num 28:26, Deut 26:1.

them from the wrath of God.⁴¹ (iii) Isaiah 43:23 mentions that “You have not honoured me with your sacrifices”, which means that Yahweh wants to be honoured by sacrificial worship. (iv) 1 Samuel 2:29 says that “[You] honour your sons more than me by fattening yourself on the choicest part of every offering”. What seems to be expressed is that the priest Eli allowed his sons to seize as their own portion that which belonged to God and that he is being personally charged with honouring his sons more than the Lord. (v) Malachi 1:6 states that “If then I am a father, where is the honour due me?”, which suggests a rebuke against the priests who dishonoured Yahweh by offering blemished sacrifices. In all the these five passages the word כָּבַד is related to the worship of Yahweh and it means that Yahweh is supposed to be worshipped by right sacrifices: the priority, the quality and the true heart. Moreover, sons are commanded to offer “honour” towards Yahweh, their Father.

Similarly, Jesus’ disciples are commanded to worship the Father and it should be done in terms of spirit and truth (Jn 4:23). This is contrasted with the worship tied to sacrificial animals and holy places in the Old Testament. We have seen that sacrificial worship of Yahweh and the honour of God are a similar connotation.

4.4.2. The Obedience of Jesus the Eldest Brother

(1) The Father instructs his sons to obey the Son in the transfiguration (Mt 17:5; Mk 9:7). It is noteworthy that his words at Jesus’ baptism (Mt 3:17), which normally signifies the inauguration of his ministry, have no mention of “obey”. However, after Jesus has called his disciples, the Father commands them to obedience. Jesus can ask or command his brothers because the Father commands them to obey. Furthermore, his obedient life encourages them to follow him.

(2) As Jesus is obedient to and dependent upon his Father (Jn 1:32; 3:34), so he wants his brothers to be obedient to and dependent upon him (Jn 1:12-13, 3:3, 5; 20:17). Obedience to his commandment means a condition for them to remain in Jesus’ love: “If you love me, you will obey what I command” (Jn 12:15). Obedience is not based on compulsory obligation but on sacrificial love.

(3) Jesus commands them to go to the world (Mt 28:19). As the Father sent the Son, the Son sends his disciples (Jn 20:21; cf. 3:16; 17:18). The mission of the disciples

⁴¹ R. E. Clements, *Isaiah 1-39*, (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1980), 239.

is linked to the mission of Jesus sent by the Father. Jesus' commissioning of his disciples to mission, resembles the Father's commissioning of his Son to save the world. The Father empowers the Son in his mission. The same vocabulary describes the sending of the disciples.

4.4.3. The Fellowship of Brotherhood.

Brothers are supposed to live together in good fellowship. They are commanded to do two things one another by the Eldest Brother. (1) Brothers should love one another. Jesus gives them a love command: "Love one another. As I have loved you, so you must love one another" (Jn 13:34). Jesus, in washing the feet of his disciples, provided an example of love; this example gave much food for thought to the disciples as they explored and reflected on what Jesus meant by love. As the eldest brother loves younger brothers, so younger brothers should love one another. The Father loves them if they love Jesus and one another.

(2) Brothers should forgive one another when they do wrong to the others. That is what the Father wants them to do. Jesus forgave those who were opposed to him and killed him. Jesus urged his brothers to forgive as many as possible. The Father "forgives" (ἀφίημι) those who forgive other brothers (Mt 6:14; Mk 11:26). The disciples, in order to receive the Father's forgiveness, must forgive the sins of others. This theme is listed in the Lord's Prayer (Mt 6:12), and is explained in a vivid parable (Mt 18:21-34), in which the minor debt is contrasted with an incomparable amount of debt. This contrast emphasises that those who will not forgive one another cannot expect to be forgiven by the Father. This also emphasises that as forgiveness is an essential characteristic of the Father, so too the sons should show forgiveness.

4.5. Disobedient Sons

Disobedient sons are defined as those who do not repent and believe in the way of righteousness which John the Baptist preached (Mt 27:28-52). They are the chief priests and the elders of the people who continue to oppose the ministry of Jesus (Mt 21:23). The parable of the two sons (obedient and disobedient) could be a way of perceiving Matthew's local community as the *corpus mixtum*. The similar examples are as follows: "two wayfarers" (Mt 7:3-14), "two kinds of prophets" (Mt 7:15-21), "two builders" (Mt 7:24-27), "the wheat and the tares" (Mt 13:36-43), "good and bad fish"

(Mt 13:47-50), "invitation of both good and bad at the wedding party" (Mt 22:10), "two men and two women at the parousia" (Mt 24:40-44), "wise and foolish virgins" (Mt 25:1-13), "good and bad servants" (Mt 25:14-30), and "sheep and goats" (Mt 25:31-46). This twofold categorisation is not made by status or vocation or gender, but by orthopraxis according to orthodoxy in Matthew. It is a striking feature that Matthew draws a line of demarcation. The criterion is the response to Jesus. Repentance and belief are required to become sons of the Father (Mt 21:35; cf. Lk 15:11-31).

In John the sons who rebel against the Father are regarded as the sons of the devil. The fact that they did not listen to and believe in the Son of the Father proves that they belong to a different family (cf. 1 Jn 2:19). The claim of the Pharisees to be the Father's sons turns out to be false, because they did not recognise the Father's will and followed another father, the devil. The Father's will was for them to follow and believe the Son. It is not surprising that the sons of the devil would follow the devil who murders and lies. These are the opposite of the Son who came to bring life to the world and to reveal truth. As the devil opposes the word and works of the Son, so the Jewish opponents of Jesus are his willing instruments. It is noteworthy to ascertain that "father" (πατήρ) is used to describe "your Father" (Jn 20:17) for the sons of God, and "your father" (Jn 8:44) for the sons of the devil. Two kinds of expression of father correspond to two kinds of son. The sons of God are born-again sons by the Spirit, and the disobedient sons are begotten by God the Father physically in terms of human creation, but are not yet born again spiritually. They should be born from above to become sons of God through repentance and belief in Jesus and the Spirit.

Conclusion

The theology of filial piety is viewed as an authentic local theology. It has been established according to a better model: filial piety meets the condition of cultural relevance and it remains biblically faithful. Furthermore, this theology is perceived as a new biblical outlook in terms of the Father-centred or the Father-oriented interpretation. Major parts of the Bible have been dealt with in this interpretation, as in some portion of this chapter and the whole of chapters four and five. There is no indication at all in any biblical scholarship of reading the Bible according to this interpretation.

CONCLUSIONS

Thus far we have attempted a fulfilment approach. A historical survey in the introduction has been made in terms of a *praeparatio evangelica*: how Confucian culture was prepared to accept the Gospel. Chapters one and two argued that filial piety among Confucian virtues is the central theme in the Confucian Classics and was an official and the popular culture in early Korean society. Chapter four suggested that Confucian filial piety is viewed as a continuity with the filial piety of Israel towards Yahweh in the Old Testament. Chapter five showed that the disciples' filial piety towards the Father was realised by Jesus' life ministry characterised as his filial piety towards the Father in particular. We must ask again whether Confucian filial piety was realised in filial piety unto the Father, and whether our fulfilment approach is justified.

1. The Realised Fulfilment of Filial Piety

The following statements suggest that Confucian culture was fulfilled by the Gospel:

Even though Confucian socio-political power was lost in Korea with the fall of the Choson dynasty in 1910, it is still a major source of cultural and religious influence for Korean people. Korea is still a Confucian society...Korea is also a country with an especially dynamic Christian community.¹

Although Confucianism is a Chinese philosophico-religious system, it is only in Korea that an entire society became thoroughly Confucian. Christianity, a late-comer on the Korean religious scene, has made dramatic progress there.²

The Protestant expansion in Korea has been successful, and especially it does so in the relations of Protestantism with the Confucian tradition.³

The remarkable development of Protestantism has been accomplished in Confucian culture. A main factor of this accomplishment can be ascribed to the fulfilment of filial piety. The following statements made by local and foreign scholars demonstrate our assertion that Confucian filial piety and the fifth commandment share the same morality

¹ Kang-nam Oh, "Sagehood and Metanoia: The Confucian-Christian Encounter in Korea", *JAAR* 61:2 (1993), 315-16.

² James H. Grayson, 2.

³ Chai-sik Chung, 51.

in nature and thus their homogeneity makes it easy for the people to understand that their traditional concept of filial piety is similar to biblical filial piety and as a response for them to feel close to Christianity. Chai-sik Chung and Horace G. Underwood suggest that:

In Confucianism the family is central. One owes one's life to one's parents, and it is through them that one defines one's relation to the world. Therefore, the foremost and cardinal obligation is filial piety.⁴

The only way in which Christianity will be able to win its way among the Confucians will be to so exemplify filial piety during the life of the parents.⁵

The selection of the right theme by a cautious observation, as above, is a process towards cultural accommodation of the Gospel, which would lead to Christian evangelisation. This relevant anthropological approach is the most efficient method to guarantee both a better understanding of the Bible and a better observance of it. Biblical emphasis on filial piety must have impacted upon the readers or believers in a society where filial piety was a moral mandate in early times and this moral duty still prevails in modern times. The theme of filial piety of Israel towards God the Father must be a focus in their mindset of filial piety. Moreover, Confucian moral education challenges not only intellectual knowledge but also practical behaviour. In this regard, Jesus' filial piety towards the Father in his life ministry encourages the readers or believers to follow his steps, call God the Father and honour him.

Most Korean Christians conceive God as the Father who is the head of the world and of all the families within that world...Furthermore, this image of God related to the Father God is deeply woven into worship and prayer for both men and women.⁶

This realised fulfilment of filial piety is unprecedented in any other East Asian countries where the Confucian influence is still a dominant factor.

⁴ Chai-sik Chung, 7.

⁵ Horace G. Underwood, *The Call of Korea* (New York: Flaming H. Revell Company, 1908), 81.

⁶ Man Ja Choi, 22.

Korea is in certain ways the most Confucianized as well as the most Christianised nation in Asia. ...it then became the nation with the largest percentage of Christians among all East Asian nations.⁷

Korea is the only nation in Asia where Christianity has established itself during the past 200 years as a significant component of the national culture [Confucianism].⁸

This case could neither be found in China, where Communist ideology has been dominant for the last four decades, nor in Japan, where Shintoism has been the stronger religion for many centuries.⁹ Taiwan and Japan have had a strong influence from Mahayana Buddhism which attempts conversions from the people,¹⁰ that after all is a deterrent to the acceptance of the Gospel.¹¹

2. The Adaptability of the Fulfilment View

It has been paternalistic concerns, from the perspective of western scholarship, that the fulfilment view would often mislead a local theology of the Third World into a possible danger of pluralistic or syncretistic theology.

First, the concern of a possible pluralistic theology occurred when some theologians, such as Paul Knitter, Raymond Pannikar, and John Hick, who are involved mostly in the fulfilment theology, proposed a pluralistic model that sees Christianity side by side with other religions. They asked why God could not will a religious pluralism, and suggested that all the world religions constitute a "unitive pluralism"¹² or an "unknown Christ"¹³ or a "whatever path men choose is mine" pluralism.¹⁴ This

⁷ Christian Jochim, "The Contemporary Confucian-Christian Encounter: Interreligious or Intrareligious Dialogue?", *JES* 32:1 (1995), 40.

⁸ James H. Grayson, 2.

⁹ Kang-nam Oh, 316.

¹⁰ Sydney Cave, *An Introduction to the Study of Some Living Religions of the East* (London: Duckworth, 1921), 133.

¹¹ Julia Ching, *Chinese Religions* (London: MacMillan, 1993), 199. The reason why Buddhism is such a hindrance to the Gospel is outside the scope of this thesis. But it is easily conceivable that churches in Myanmar, Thailand, Taiwan and Sri Lanka are too weak to penetrate Buddhism. One main reason could be that Buddhism is the state religion or at least the official culture and the popular culture in those countries. Shintoism in Japan is the official culture and popular culture.

¹² Paul Knitter, 205-230.

¹³ Raymond Pannikar, *The Unknown Christ of Hinduism* (London: Darton, Longman & Todd, 1964), 16-24, 54-63.

pluralism seemed to suggest that all religions are more or less equally true and valid paths to salvation. But recently this pluralism turned out to mean a kind of exclusivism that cannot comprise the plurality of the religions.¹⁵ However, pluralistic theology describes not only different paths to reach God, but also paths criss-crossing with the people of different faiths learning from one another during their journey toward the same destination. For a Christian, Jesus is the Christ, but the historical Jesus does not exhaust the idea of a Universal Christ or the Logos. For others, the Universal Christ and the historical Jesus are not the same. This assertion removes the possibility of accommodation which can provide a fulfilment with other religions and moves into a theistic discussion which can generalise the Christian God into many gods.

Secondly, another concern related to syncretistic danger took place in the contextualisation of Hinduism. For example, Brahmabandhav Upadhyaya (1861-1907) attempted to interpret the Trinity in terms of Brahman (the Absolute or Pure Being) as *sat*, *chit*, and *ananda* (being, intelligence and bliss). In this case it is quite strange that impersonal language is used to match a personal being. A. J. Appasamy chose the concept of *bhakti* (love), which is derived from the non-dualism of Ramanuja, to interpret "I and Father are one" in the Gospel of John as only a moral relationship between the Father and the Son. J. N. Farquhar used the Hindu concept of *avatar* (cycle of rebirth) to interpret the Christian doctrine of incarnation.¹⁶ It turned out to be difficult to apply the fulfilment view in India, where Hinduistic parallelism, the fusional nature of Hinduism and the absolutism of Hinduism always result in a relativism of the Gospel.¹⁷

It is quite right that these cases above make a wrong impression on the fulfilment view. But one should not deny the validity of fulfilment view. This is evident particularly in regard to the Gospel's relation to Hellenistic cultures and philosophy. As Wolfart Pannenberg stated it:

¹⁴ John Hick, "Whatever Path Men Choose is Mine", John Hick and Brian Hebblethwaite (eds.), *Christianity and Other Religions* (Glasgow: Collins, 1980), 171-190.

¹⁵ Gavin D'costa, "The impossibility of a Pluralist View of Religion", *RS* 32 (1996), 224-232.

¹⁶ Bruce J. Nicholls, "Towards a Theology of Gospel and Culture", John R. W. Stott and Robert Coote (eds.), 51.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

This religion [Christianity] not only linked itself to Greek philosophy, but also inherited the entire religious tradition of the Mediterranean world - a process whose details have still not been sufficiently clarified, but which was probably decisive for the persuasive power of Christianity in the ancient world.¹⁸

From its beginning Christianity has been accommodated by religious elements taken from the local culture and has been at the risk of syncretism.¹⁹ But it has developed to be a normative expression of faith.²⁰ Yet the process of using the local cultures in which the Gospel feels itself at home remains a constant problem. Thus, a careful examination of a cultural theme is very important because all cultural practices are not acceptable within a particular Christian faith. Good cultural elements can be "continuous" to Christ, and bad cultural elements can be "discontinuous" to Him.²¹ Therefore, we should select good cultural themes and then provide a biblically-faithful understanding of the selected themes. In this sense, our discussion of filial piety by keeping two principles equally (biblical faithfulness and cultural relevance) can be a good case of having been attempted by the fulfilment approach.

3. Definition of the Theology of Filial Piety

What is the theology of filial piety? First, the theology of filial piety is a cultural theology which interprets the Bible in terms of cultural theme of filial piety. Two principles (Biblical faithfulness and cultural relevance) need to be applied for making an authentic cultural theology. A careful examination done in chapters one, two and four, five and some portions of chapter six connect cultural relevance and Biblical faithfulness for the preparation of this theology. To put it in more detail, cultural relevance is associated with the argument that the concept of filial piety was the official and popular culture in early Chou dynasty. The arguments in chapter two that filial piety in early Korean literature was continuous with the filial piety of the Confucian

¹⁸ Wolfart Pannenberg, *Basic Questions in Theology: Collected Essays II*, trans., George H. Kehm, (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1971), 86-87.

¹⁹ Cf. M. M. Thomas, "The Absoluteness of Jesus Christ and Christ-centred Syncretism" *ER* 37 (1985), 387-97.

²⁰ Eugene L. Stockwell, "Editorial", *IRM* 74:209 (1985), 153-57; T. V. Philip, "Relation between Theology and Culture in the Perspective of Church History", *VTW* 16:2 (1993), 94-116.

²¹ H. Richard Niebuhr, 42.

Classics and used as an ideology to suppress Buddhism are an attempt to show that the filial piety of the Confucian Classics became the official and popular culture in early Korea. Even now in modern Korea filial piety is one of the official and popular cultures. This filial piety as one of the official and popular cultures meets the condition of cultural relevance. On the other hand, this filial piety corresponding to the fifth commandment in Biblical narratives meets the conditions of cultural relevance and Biblical faithfulness. Moreover, the argument that filial piety towards a human father can be in continuity with filial piety towards Yahweh the Father in the Old Testament is a theologising attempt of culture of filial piety. More importantly, the following argument is for a missiological purpose: that the theme of *imitatio Christi* provides not only continuity with filial piety towards human parents and the heavenly Father but also the moral mandate of filial piety towards human parents and the Heavenly Father.

Secondly, the theology of filial piety is a theology of the relationship between God the Father and his sons. Confucian filial piety involves the relationship between the parents (father and mother) and their children (sons and daughters), but Biblical filial piety connects the relationship between the Father and his children. The reason why we choose "father and son" to parallel "Yahweh and Israel" is simple: Yahweh is never called "parents" and "mother", although the parenthood and motherhood of Yahweh is a few times expressed, and Israel is often called his "son(s)" and rarely called his "daughters". The parallel of Yahweh and Israel as a father and his son can reflect the significance of the Confucian relationship of parents and children and give the people of Confucian patriarchy a better understanding of their relationships and implications. It is because patriarchal society was regarded as a general phenomenon in early Korean history and indeed Hebrew times. Moreover, the relationship between God and Jesus' disciples is almost always described as the Father-son relationship in the Four Gospels. Thus we dealt with only the relationship between the Father and the son(s). However, the relationship between a father and a daughter is worth exploring in terms of a theological perspective, although only a few passages treat Israel as daughters in relation to Yahweh in biblical narratives. This theology can be further developed if the relationship between Jesus (the Eldest Brother) and the women around him (his sisters) is assumed to reflect the relationship between the Father and the daughters. In fact, Jesus the Eldest Brother acts as in the position of the Father. This

theological attempt will give a new or comprehensive perspective in understanding the Father.

Thirdly, the theology of filial piety highlights the honour of the Father. The honour of Yahweh the Father was emphasised in two ways. First, the worship of Yahweh and obedience of the sons were emphasised. When they came out of Egypt, they were comparatively obedient to Yahweh. But most of the time in their history they were ungrateful and rebellious sons. Secondly, the Fatherhood of God (begetter, caretaker and disciplinarian) and the future promises of Israel's restoration are presented to encourage them to honour him as the Father. Yahweh the Father began to teach disobedient sons how to obey and honour him. Nevertheless Israel did not obey and honour him in Isaiah, Jeremiah, Hosea and Malachi. However, the honour of the Father is highly emphasised and practised by Jesus. His life ministry can be summarised as the concepts of $\delta\acute{o}\xi\alpha$ and $\delta\omicron\zeta\acute{\alpha}\zeta\omega$, which represent his earthly ministry, passion, death and resurrection. His disciples followed him by witness and death for the honour of the Father.

Fourthly, the theology of filial piety which we have shaped is in fact a part of the theology of the Father. The relationship between a father and a son is a mutual relationship, and Confucian filial piety is preceded by a parental concern or love. In our work we presented Israel in terms of disobedient or obedient sons and Yahweh the Father as an educator of filial piety. Also, we presented the relationship between the Father and the Son and that between the Father and the sons in the Four Gospels. Through these presentations we have seen the mutual roles of the Father and the Son, of the Father and the sons, although the filial piety-centred interpretation has been more emphasised than the Father-centred or the Father-oriented interpretation throughout the passages. However, the theology of the Father needs to be developed in the future. In doing so, the Father-centred or Father-oriented interpretation will particularly be expected to open a new chapter of theological insights. If we rewrite biblical commentaries and theological essays in terms of the Father-centred or the Father-oriented interpretation, we will be able to contribute to the biblical-theological abundance of the Patrology.

4. An Evaluation of the Theology of Filial Piety

As a new Korean theology, the theology of filial piety or *Hyo* theology will be able to contribute to a theological discussion in the wider world. *Hyo* theology, although it is a local theology, can be a universal theology, because the honour of one's parents is common and essential in the West and Asian countries. The human relationship between parents and children is original and intimate in human society. People in Asia can understand its theology very easily, and western people will be able to appreciate it very well, although the images or concepts of fatherhood differ.

However, given the authenticity and the universality of the theology of filial piety, it cannot embrace the comprehensive nature of theology, nor can it avoid the reductionism of the Bible. That is to say, we cannot deal with all kinds of theological agenda within the theology of filial piety, nor can we interpret the Bible with one single theme such as filial piety. This is the weakness of any local theology, although it is worth trying to work with it continually. This situation calls for a constant dialogue between theologies for a better understanding of the Bible.

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